

265298

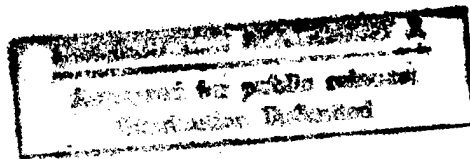
JPRS 81393

29 July 1982

China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 321



19980918 132

FBIS

FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

11
57
A04

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22161. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

29 July 1982

CHINA REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 321

CONTENTS

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

PARTY AND STATE

Ideological Attitudes in Socialist State Studied (ZHEJIANG RIBAO, 14 Jun 82, LIAONING RIBAO, 16 Jun 82).....	1
'Yielding When Right', by Li Rongzan Necessity of Regular Training, by Qi Lin	
'XINWEN ZHANXIAN' Stresses Truthful Journalism (XINWEN ZHANXIAN, No 5, 1982).....	5
PLA Party Membership Rules' Revision Criticized (Ba Yi Radio, 5 Jul 82).....	8
'GONGREN RIBAO' on Promoting Ideopolitical Work (GONGREN RIBAO, 22 Jun 82).....	10
Sixth Lecture on Draft Revised Constitution (XINHUA Domestic Service, 3 Jul 82).....	12
'RENMIN RIBAO' on KMT Revolutionary Shao Lizi (Liu Fei, Qu Wu; RENMIN RIBAO, 26 Jun 82).....	14
Report on Ruling Party Work Style (Beijing Domestic Service, various dates).....	20
Third Talk	
Fourth Talk	
Fifth Talk	
Sixth Talk	
Seventh Talk	
Eighth Talk	

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

Helicopters Used To Drop Antitank Mines (Tan Shaoji; JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, No 6, 1982).....	38
New Ideas on Antitank Training Introduced (JIEFANGJUN HUABAO, No 6, 1982).....	39

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Population Control Seen as Vital for Economic Progress (Chen Xuguang; SIXIANG ZHANXIAN, 20 Feb 82).....	41
--	----

PARTY AND STATE

IDEOLOGICAL ATTITUDES IN SOCIALIST STATE STUDIED

'Yielding When Right'

Hangzhou ZHEJIANG RIBAO in Chinese 14 Jun 82 p 4

[Article by Li Rongzan [2621 2837 6363]: "Foster the New Habit of 'Yielding Even When Right'"]

[Text] In daily life, conflicts and disputes often occur between comrades, between neighbors and in the family. In handling the conflicts and disputes, most comrades are able to place the revolutionary interest first, demand strictly of themselves and establish the new habit of "yielding even when right." By so doing, they preserve unity and educate others, making those who are wrong feel embarrassed and wake up to their errors. Nevertheless, there are also some few people who, regardless of whether they are "right" or "wrong," will always "argue." Sometimes, over some trivialities, they will injure others with vicious words, raise their fists, cause a disaster and wind up with a tragedy. Such unprincipled disputes disrupt the unity within the people and endanger the social order. Therefore, our advocacy of "yielding even when right" is not only for the purpose of improving the social mood, but also an issue of adapting our words and acts to the demands of the four modernizations.

In terms of its meaning, the word "yield" contains the elements of courtesy, modesty and forbearance. The ancients explained it thus: "To yield is to be generous to others and disparaging of oneself." Evidently, the word "yield" stresses civilization, courtesy, unity and ethics and is a traditional virtue of the Chinese nation. It has been developed and enhanced among the Chinese communists. With the magnanimity of a proletarian revolutionary, our revered and beloved Premier Zhou exercised strict self-discipline and always "yielded to others." Riding in a car to go out, he "gave precedence" to others; in case of fame and position, he was "modest;" encountering misunderstanding, he exercised "forbearance." The lofty thinking established by the revolutionaries of the older generation will always serve as a model of our studying.

"Yielding even when right" requires the revolutionary spirit of "suffering a disadvantage" gladly. With this spirit, in case of conflicts and

disputes, even when one is "right," one will be able to consciously and voluntarily yield to others, thereby solving the issues satisfactorily, bringing closer the relations among comrades and consolidating and enhancing stability and unity. On the other hand, if one is afraid to suffer a disadvantage, haggles over personal gains and losses, refuses to give ground, gives tit for tat and stands firm with one's fists, it will often aggravate the argument and disrupt stability and unity.

To be sure, by advocating "yielding," we are not asking everyone to keep on good terms with others at the expense of principles. We have always believed that we must "argue over major matters and yield in trivialities." By major matters, we refer to such issues as upholding the four basic principles, implementing the party's lines, principles and policies and rectifying the party style. In face of major matters, we must take a firm standpoint and shoulder our responsibilities, upholding and supporting the correct and opposing and resisting the incorrect. Nevertheless, in terms of the insignificant trivialities among the people, we must develop our style and yield to others. By so doing, we are not abandoning principles, but are manifesting a high awareness and a strong party quality. Even when it comes to "disputes" over matters of principle, while the words used may be sharp, they must not injure others. One must start from the desire for unity and solve the issues with the weapon of criticism and self-criticism. Sunzi once said: "Honest but not cutting; debating without arguing." These words contain dialectics.

The new habit of "yielding even when right" is not only an urgent issue posed to us by real life, but a major matter of a profound significance linked with the building of a great socialist state. If the virtue of "yielding even when right" becomes a habit in each and every household, school, plant, store, organ and neighborhood, the situation of refusing to give ground among comrades will greatly decrease, the senseless disputes among neighbors will become rare and the discord in families will vanish. In short, if everyone can "yield even when right," the relations among people will become more intimate and united and produce a favorable impact on the production, work and living orders.

Necessity of Regular Training

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 16 Jun 82 p 3

[Article by Qi Lin [7871 2651]: "Studying Is Creditable"]

[Text] Hearing that a friend would go to study in the party school, we went to his house to congratulate him. To our surprise, we found him depressed. Upon inquiry, we learned that he was depressed precisely because he was going to school. "I did not make any mistake. Why am I ordered to study?" His thinking is naturally incorrect. Nevertheless, the social view that "studying is dishonorable" is indeed fairly widespread and deserves looking into.

Our cadres have mainly been trained in the practice of revolutionary struggles. However, with practice as the foundation, regular training is a crucial means to improve their level. In this aspect, our party once had a good tradition. In the revolutionary war years and the early days after the founding of the nation, regardless of the busy work schedule and heavy tasks, the party organization always sent the superior key cadres to party and cadre schools for advanced studies. By this means, the party trained innumerable superior leading cadres. In those days, all the cadres considered it an honor to be given the opportunity to study. Subsequently, under the influence of "leftwing" guiding ideology, the good practice deteriorated, as if all those required to study were "cadres with problems" or "surplus personnel," and some even considered going to school as a "prelude" to transfer or retirement. Especially during the time of the 10-year upheaval, "studying" became a synonym for being criticized, struggled against and punished. The "study class" became a detention station in disguise, and the "cadre school" was where the cadres were punished. A force of habit and a customary view were inevitably formed. However, if we still regard the regular training of cadres with the old view today, it will be completely wrong.

Actually, the party's regular training of cadres, enabling them to acquire the proper academic qualifications for their particular levels of duties, is its care for the cadres. If a cadre possesses only practical experience, without systematic studying which raises his perceptual understanding to rational understanding, then his knowledge will be incomplete and he will find it difficult to perform his duties. Once a conflict occurs between his duties and his capacity, not only the party's work will suffer, but the cadre himself will feel distressed. Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong said that one of the methods to cherish the cadres is to "improve them, giving them the opportunity to study and educating them, so that they will improve in theory and ability." Today, when we are vigorously improving the party's leadership and making the cadre ranks more revolutionary, youthful and knowledgeable, this point is of particular importance.

Sending the cadres making mistakes or having problems to school is not improper, but we absolutely must not feel that all those ordered to undergo rotational training have made mistakes or have problems. On the contrary, we must change people's view in system and in social opinion and create the good mood that studying is creditable. The cadres must be treated thus: We must create conditions for all those below the required academic qualifications to reach the standard. Only by regular rotational training will it be possible to determine whether they can be promoted and given important posts on the basis of their diligence and achievements. If we only render lip service to the fact that regular training is for the purpose of improving the cadres, while in practice, we keep the key cadres at their work posts, as if they were indispensable, it will be using them only, without training them, and it will not be true care for the key cadres. Whether a leader can and is willing to send the truly competent cadres to study, enabling them to improve even more

through regular training and undertake more important work, is a test of his strategic vision and overall concept. If a leader thinks only of the partial and immediate needs and deprives the comrades with a great future the valuable opportunity to study, it will be an act of irresponsibility toward the party and the cadres.

Rotational cadre training is in the course of becoming a system. Many comrades, after working for a number of years, will be able to undergo regular training in school for a certain length of time, learning political theories, their particular fields, culture and certain necessary technical knowledge. After structural reform, more comrades will have the opportunity to study. All those having the opportunity must feel their own tremendous responsibilities, the urgency of studying, and the honor of being trusted by the party and the people, study diligently and assiduously, and turn themselves into competent cadres adapted to the demands of the era.

6080

CSO: 4005/956

PARTY AND STATE

'XINWEN ZHANXIAN' STRESSES TRUTHFUL JOURNALISM

HK020414 Beijing XINWEN ZHANXIAN in Chinese No 5, 1982 pp 2, 3

[XINWEN ZHANXIAN Commentator's article: "Reports Inconsistent With Facts May Entail Untold Troubles"]

[Text] Recently, this journal's editorial department received some letters from readers on the question of news reports being inconsistent with facts. Two types of reports will be discussed here. Our purpose is to bring to the attention of journalists and comrades engaged in propaganda work the need to do a good job of writing truthful news reports. They must make fewer mistakes and more contributions to propaganda and journalism in the new period.

News reports must be absolutely truthful. This is a fundamental principle of journalism and is also our party's fine tradition in journalism. The party's actual practice in journalism over the past years has proved that whenever we faithfully and solemnly uphold this principle and tradition, we can obtain distinctive results in our work and our cause will develop healthily; otherwise, we will suffer setbacks. We will not elaborate here since such kinds of setbacks remain fresh in our memory and we do not have to look far for a lesson. Today, while stepping up journalism and propaganda on the building of the two civilizations, we must set stricter demands on ourselves on the question of ensuring truthful news reports. We must be more cautious at work and must not slacken our efforts.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," we have criticized the reactionary journalism of writing "lies, exaggerations and empty words." As a result, our journalism has undergone fundamental changes, once again gaining the acceptance and faith of the broad masses of people. However, we must also see that some unreliable reports have not yet vanished. The situation of "mouse droppings spoil the whole pot of broth" is sometimes found in journalism. Although what is reflected in an untruthful report may not be very important, it can be very dangerous. These reports can easily confuse the readers' minds, disturb normal work progress, bring unexpected calamity to persons involved, infringe upon the reputation of the party's journalism and disseminate errors, entailing untold troubles. The incidents contained in these two reports fully illustrate similar questions and show how horrifying and hateful false reports are.

There are many complicated factors accounting for reports which are inconsistent with facts. However, in view of the subjective factors, it always has something to do with the ideology and work style of the reporters. Making a comprehensive survey of recent untruthful reports, some are accounted for by the reporters' ideological deviation or slackened work style. But reports which are severely inconsistent with facts are mainly accounted for by the reporters' intention to deviate from facts and to try to please the public with claptrap. Many of these reporters have extremely impure ideology. There was such an example not long ago; someone fabricated a sham model which was then vigorously propagated. When the truth was discovered, not only did he not sincerely accept criticism, but he justified himself by saying: "Although the model was a sham one, it had good social effects." Certainly, the fallacious exposition of "sham models can bring good results" is not worth refuting and can only be treated as a joke. However, what merits our attention is that there are still many people deeply indulged in doing this by adopting various forms. This is totally intolerable.

Some comrades' misunderstanding of the form of "reportage" is one of the outstanding factors accounting for reports inconsistent with facts. Many people usually, either consciously or unconsciously, use "literary nature" as a pretext to disturb the truthfulness of the reports. Some people claim that they are writing "reportage" and fabricate stories as they please. It seems that it is necessary to make a further explanation on the form of "reportage." In our opinion, reports on real people and events which are to be published in the press or to be broadcast should not be fabricated. Expecting reality to correspond to the name, "reportage" as a form of report should primarily play its role of "reporting" and secondly, display its "literary nature." In the field of journalism, all literature and art expressed in the form of a report should be truthful and serve the purpose of strengthening the sense of reality of the reports. The value of a reportage writing should primarily be whether or not the content it carries is true. Reports without a literary value certainly cannot be called "reportage," but on the other hand, reports which are unfaithful to the objective facts and are wilfully fabricated also cannot be included in the category of "reportage" despite their great "literary value." We very much admire the great social effect brought about by good reportage writings; and simultaneously, we are also very concerned about the serious confusion brought about by that "reportage" which is inconsistent with facts. We sincerely hope that comrades engaged in "reportage" work in all press units will understand well the dialectical relationship between "report" and "literature" before they write and attach primary importance to truthfulness. Journalism is a kind of social activity. Once reports are released they create social public opinion. They must be responsible to the society. That is to say, they must be responsible to the party and the people. Irresponsible journalists, be they professional or amateur, are not competent journalists.

Establishing progressive models to advance various kinds of work is an important work method of journalism. We should vigorously develop this method in the course of launching propaganda on building spiritual and material civilization.

When the deeds of a progressive figure are published in the press or broadcast on radio or television, they become the whole society's spiritual wealth, thus inspiring the people to create more spiritual and material wealth. Therefore, all journalists find pleasure in discovering a progressive personality and popularizing his progressive deeds. We must uphold the principle of maintaining absolute truth in popularizing progressive deeds because progressive examples have inexhaustible power. The good hope of establishing progressive models can only be realized by truthful reports. False reports not only cannot set up progressive examples, but on the contrary will only pointlessly bring difficulties to the personalities commended. When reports on progressive deeds have been found to be false, the reporters should actively correct the situation. It is wrong to "leave a mistake uncorrected and make the best of it," "insist on establishing" false models and treat those who expose the fact as "nosy" people who have "hurt" the progressive models. Actually, it is only the reporters who fabricate stories who hurt the progressive models. The deeper they promote progressive deeds in this way, the more seriously the progressive models are hurt. The masses absolutely cannot be subjected to the temporary "good social effect" until the truth is verified. We must bear in mind that the more influential the untruthful reports are, greater will be the adverse results after they are proved false. We have learned numerous similar lessons in the past and such a practice can never be repeated.

In the propaganda of building the two civilizations, particularly spiritual civilization, journalists and all comrades engaged in propaganda work must set good examples. "Always be true in word" is the primary guideline for journalism; that is to say, all reports must be truthful. It is immoral to deceive readers with false reports. Only by popularizing the building of the "two civilizations" with a high degree of our own spiritual civilization, can we feel no hesitation about the heavy tasks entrusted by the party and the people or apprehension toward this great era of ours.

CSO: 4005/1063

PARTY AND STATE

PLA PARTY MEMBERSHIP RULES' REVISION CRITICIZED

OW070610 (Clandestine) Ba Yi Radio in Mandarin to China 1330 GMT 5 Jul 82

[Text] Since Comrade Deng Xiaoping has persistently revised the regulation concerning party membership in the army, the number of PLA commanders and fighters joining the party has dropped drastically. According to statistics compiled by the General Political Department, the number of commanders and fighters who joined the party in 1981 was 40 percent less than the number in 1980. The number of commanders and fighters who joined the party in the first half of 1982 was 60 percent less than for the same period in 1981.

Although some people said that the decision to revise the regulation is aimed at controlling the number of party members and improving their quality, this decision is actually aimed at weakening the PLA party organizations, reducing the total number of party members in the army, preventing the army from playing an active role in the party's various political activities, and relegating the army to a secondary position in the political life of the society.

Apparently, this practice runs counter to the historical traditions of our party and army. Since its founding our army has always been an armed group in carrying out revolutionary political missions. During certain periods of the Chinese revolution, the party groups in the army were the only party organizations in some areas. The party members in the army extensively carried out political propaganda work, organized and armed the masses in actively developing revolutionary power, and implemented the party's various policies. For many years the revolutionary PLA blast furnace has tempered thousands of outstanding cadres in running the party, the country and the army.

Since the founding of the army, our party has always concerned itself with the growth of the party organizations in the army and inspired the commanders and fighters to wholeheartedly serve the cause of the party and the people. Therefore, the percentage of party members in the army has always been very high and every commander and fighter regards their party membership as a matchless glory. However, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has made a decision against this trend. The decision stipulates: The percentage of party members in a company should not exceed 20 percent of the total number of army men in the company. One must not demand that each squad has a party member as in the past. The number of party members in military organizations should be strictly controlled.

Needless to say, the so-called consolidation of the contingent of party members in the army is actually aimed at dampening the enthusiasm of the party organizations in the army and preventing outstanding commanders and fighters from joining the party. As a result, the percentage of party members has dropped in the army, as well as active role of the party member armymen in the political life of the state and the society.

Comrade Hu Yaobang clearly pointed out: China's future will be determined by the role of the 20 million cadres, 38 million party members and millions of PLA commanders and fighters in the political arena. From this we can realize that only by stopping the unprincipled reduction of the number of party organizations in the army and ceasing to undermine the prestige of party members cadres in the army will it be possible for the broad masses of commanders and fighters to play their active role in China's political arena.

CSO: 4005/1063

PARTY AND STATE

'GONGREN RIBAO' ON PROMOTING IDEOPOLITICAL WORK

HK061528 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 22 Jun 82 p 1

[GONGREN RIBAO commentator's article: "Ideological and Political Work Must Be Convincing"]

[Text] It gives people much pleasure to read the special report "Using Knowledge To Prompt the Mental Development of Young People" which is carried in today's issue of GONGREN RIBAO. After studying Li Yanjie's method of ideological work, 26-year-old Wang Xinqiao has made friends with young people and used knowledge to promote the mental development of young people. He has been warmly welcomed by young workers. The road he has taken shows that even a young man who is lacking in knowledge and experience can gradually promote ideological work as long as he is willing to study intensively.

At present, one of the existing problems in our ideological work is the lack of convincingness. Our lectures, reports and talks are always not very persuasive, are always unable to present any convincing argument and always fail to touch the people's hearts. Why is it that the masses are not willing to listen to us? We should find out the reasons for this unwillingness on the part of both listeners and speakers. Is it not true that Wang Xinqiao twice failed to carry out ideological work. While speaking on stage for the first time, he got red in the face from excitement, was nervous and spoke incoherently, thus bungling his work. The second time, he asked a brilliant speaker to speak on his behalf. Although this speaker spoke in a loud voice on the stage, the whole meeting place was in an uproar. As a result, his work was bungled once again. The reasons for his failures are: the two speeches were not convincing and failed to grasp the characteristics of young workers; Wang Xingiao and the other speakers failed to understand the thinking of young workers. Without a sharp contrast, there is nothing appealing or convincing. If the "key" is not the right one, it will not open the "locks" within young people's hearts.

Our ideological and political work is directly aimed at arousing and heightening the revolutionary consciousness of our staff and workers. The work is also directly aimed at enabling them to have faith in communism and to become politically conscious fighters for communism. While working and in daily life,

our staff and workers always encounter all kinds of ideas. Of course, the major ideas they encounter are always correct and communist ideas. However, they are also always tainted with all kinds of nonproletarian ideas such as capitalist ideas, ideas of remnants of feudalism and petty bourgeois ideas. These things obstruct us from changing the objective world and also obstruct us from remolding our subjective world. Without eliminating these things, our socialist cause cannot progress. Our ideological work is precisely aimed at eliminating these things. In order to do so, it is imperative to eliminate them in the proper way. The most important method for eliminating them is integrating theory with practice. To integrate theory with practice, we must first make investigations and studies, discover the real ideological situation of staff and workers, and see both their main ideological trend and their existing ideological problems. Only by doing so can we have a definite object in view, "suit the remedy to the case," overcome negative factors and kindle the torch of socialist enthusiasm within the innermost world of the people. If you regard the masses as "backward elements," obsessively criticize and reprimand them, only tell them about some general principles and fail to maintain close ideological links with the masses, you can hardly blame the masses for not listening to you.

Since our ideological and political work is aimed at educating and convincing the people and is also aimed at heightening the revolutionary consciousness and the cognitive ability of staff and workers, those who are engaged in ideological work should surpass others in revolutionary consciousness, knowledge, the ability to understand objective things and in making progress. How are we to achieve all these things? One method is to learn from Wang Xinqiao who has immersed himself among the masses, strengthened investigations and studies, understood the characteristics and conditions of the objects of his work, made great efforts to study politics, culture, science, technology and other branches of knowledge, and gradually mastered the laws and basic ways and means of ideological and political work. By so doing we can enable our ideological and political work to gradually become appealing and convincing.

CSO: 4005/1063

PARTY AND STATE

SIXTH LECTURE ON DRAFT REVISED CONSTITUTION

OW070230 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0019 GMT 3 Jul 82

[Text] Beijing, 3 Jul (XINHUA)--Sixth lecture on the draft revised constitution: "The position of the urban and rural collective economy as stipulated in the draft revised constitution."

There are important stipulations in the draft revised constitution on the economic system of our country which have fixed the position of the urban and rural collective economy in law form and have given certain rights to urban and rural collective economic units. These stipulations in the draft revised constitution are of great significance for pushing forward our country's socialist construction.

According to provisions of the draft revised constitution, our country's urban and rural collective economy, namely, the socialist sector of the economy collectively owned by the working people, mainly consists of two parts. One part includes rural people's communes, agricultural producers' cooperatives and other forms of the cooperative economy; the other part includes the various forms of the cooperative economy in the cities and towns, such as those in the handicraft, industrial, building, transport, commercial and service trades. The socialist sector of the economy collectively owned by the working people is a product of basic Marxist principles combined with China's concrete practice, an indispensable form of economic organization in our country's socialist public ownership system. However, we have for some time ignored the role of the urban and rural collective economy in understanding and certain provisions, and failed to give it the position it deserves. Now, the draft revised constitution has summarized the experience in this area and, on the basis of affirming collective ownership by the working masses as socialist public ownership, specifically ruled on what economic units in urban and rural areas belong to the socialist sector of the economy collectively owned by the working people. Thus, the various forms of the collective economy in our country are guaranteed by the constitution and the various activities they are engaged in are surely protected by law.

The draft revised constitution also contains clear-cut stipulations on the decision powers of collective economic units. On the one hand it allows the collective economic units to enjoy powers of decision in conducting independent economic activities, while on the other it sets a condition for

the exercise of such powers of decision--they must accept the guidance of the state plans and abide by relevant state laws. It is quite necessary to affirm the decision powers of collective economic units in their own management in the constitution. First, it is necessary for the protection of the collective ownership of the working people. The substance of collective ownership of the working people is that collective economic units have the right to use, possess and dispose of their properties. The decision powers in conducting independent economic activities are a concrete manifestation of the right of collective economic units to use and dispose of their properties. If collective economic units do not have independent management powers, collective ownership of the working people will become empty words. Second, the stipulation that collective economic units enjoy independent management powers is also required by socialist economic construction. Collective economic units take part in economic activities, are responsible for their own profits and losses and have their own material interests. Therefore, they should be managed according to their own business characteristics and give play to their own advantages in order to promote economic development.

On the management of collective economic units, the draft revised constitution stipulates: "Units of the collective economy practice democratic management according to provisions of the law, their managerial personnel shall be elected and removed and decisions on major issues concerning enterprise management shall be taken by the entire body of their workers and staff members." This stipulation embodies the principle of socialist democracy. Economic democracy is also an important part of socialist democracy. On the other hand workers in collective economic units participate in the units' various productive activities as producers, and, on the other, manage the units and make decisions on major enterprise issues as collective owners of properties. This is very helpful to the development of the collective economy. When these workers, who are familiar with various production problems, participate in economic management, they will assuredly increase the labor productivity of the collective economic units.

In addition, the draft revised constitution has also made clear-cut stipulations on land owned by the collective economy in rural areas. At the same time, it also stipulates that working people who are members of organizations of the rural collective economy have the right, within limits prescribed by law, to farm plots of agricultural and hilly land, engage in household sideline production, keep livestock for their own needs, and so forth. These stipulations have a positive bearing on enlivening the rural economy.

CSO: 4005/1063

PARTY AND STATE

'RENMIN RIBAO' ON KMT REVOLUTIONARY SHAO LIZI

HK070817 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 26 Jun 82 p 5

[Article by Liu Fei [0491 2431] and Qu Wu [1448 2976], vice chairman of the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese KWT: "Promote Peaceful Reunification, Make China Strong and Prosperous--Commemorating the Birth Centenary of Shao Lizi"]

[Text] Comrade Shao Lizi was born in 1882 in Zhejiang Province, Shaoxing County. This year is the centenary of his birth. In his life, he lived through the Qing Dynasty, the Nationalist Republic and the PRC. He lived through the national, democratic and socialist revolutions. He followed the path of the wheel of history and adapted himself to the needs of the development of the times. He studied and progressed continuously. He made contributions to the independence, democracy and peaceful reunification of China and the interests of its people.

A Soldier of Democracy Opposed to Feudal Dictatorship

As a child, Comrade Shao Lizi studied at a private school. At the age of 21, he was a successful candidate in the imperial examinations at the provincial level. However, he did not continue along the path of "one who excels in scholastic study and embarks upon a career as an official." In pursuit of the new times, new ideology, new culture and truth, he marched on bravely. From 1905, he studied at the College Aurore, Fudan College and Nanyang College in Shanghai, where his patriotism was aroused. In 1907, he went to Japan to study journalism and there founded the SHENZHOU DAILY with Yu Youren and others to spur on the democratic revolution and oppose the feudal emperor system. On returning to China, he obtained a teaching post in 1910 at an institute of higher education in Shanxi through the introduction of Yu Youren. Due to his spreading of new ideology and culture, he was persecuted by the Shanxi authorities and expelled from the province. In 1912, he founded the MINLI BAO, against with Yu Youren and others, on which he worked as editor. He also worked as a journalist with the MINSHENG BAO. He devoted major efforts to spreading democracy and opposing the feudal warlords. In 1915, due to his exposition of Yuan Shikai's restorationist and traitorous crimes, the MINLI BAO was shut down. He made persistent efforts and, amid anti-Yuan

sentiment, founded the SHENGHUO DAILY. Soon afterwards, together with Chen Yingshi, Ye Chucang and others, changed the name of the SHENGHUO DAILY to the REPUBLICAN DAILY NEWS. He himself worked as editor-in-chief for as long as 10 years and also compiled a supplement to it, CONSCIOUSNESS. Comrade Shao Lizi himself wrote quite a few articles and thus played a positive part in the antiimperialist, antifeudal revolutionary struggle.

Before the "30 May" movement, CONSCIOUSNESS had published works by many communists, including Yun Daiying, Deng Zhongxia, Xiao Chunu, Yang Xianjiang and Jiang Guoci. It carried quite a few articles commemorating Lenin and the October Revolution and introduced the reader to translations of classics of Marxism. Apart from this, it also enlightened intellectuals into recognizing, through the strikes that took place at the time, the revolutionary ideology of the working class and their noble qualities, cleared away prejudices against workers and launched discussions on how intellectuals should liaise with workers to carry out labor movement. Chairman Mao thought very highly of this. In "On New Democracy," he said: "Using the communist WEEKLY GUIDE, the KMT's REPUBLICAN DAILY NEWS of Shanghai and other newspapers in various localities as their bases of operations, the two parties jointly advocated anti-imperialism, jointly combated feudal education based on the worship of Confucius and on the study of the Confucian canon and jointly opposed feudal literature and the classical language and promoted the new literature and the vernacular style of writing with an antiimperialist and antifeudal content." Thus, they created public opinion and made ideological preparations for the "May 4" movement and the subsequent northern expedition.

During the "May 4" movement, Comrade Shao Lizi was both editor-in-chief of REPUBLICAN DAILY NEWS and a lecturer at Fudan University. Early on the morning of 5 May 1919, he received in his newspaper office a cable from Beijing. On hearing that the "May 4" movement had erupted, he immediately rushed back to Fudan University, where he personally rang the bell to summon all the lecturers and students of the university to an emergency meeting. He immediately reported on the situation, exposed the various traitorous activities of the northern warlords and greatly aroused his audience. After the meeting, the Fudan students soon ran through the whole city, giving actual support to the "May 4" movement. Shao Lizi constantly helped students to analyze the situation, pointed out policies, indefatigably answered students' questions and was trusted and respected by them.

The 'Old Peacemaker' Who Persisted in CCP-KMT Cooperation

In 1908, Comrade Shao Lizi joined the China Revolutionary League in Japan. Thereafter, he joined the KMT and actively supported Dr Sun Yat-sen's three great policies of alliance with Russia, alliance with the communists and support for peasants and workers. As an important member of the KMT, in the course of all his work, whether it involved responsibility for local administration or serving as a high-ranking assistant to an official, or whether it involved taking part in talks between the CCP and KMT or engaging

in various activities with foreign countries, he always abided by the teachings of Dr Sun Yat-sen and upheld the principle of peace and unity. For 20-odd years, he held high posts in the KMT leading clique and it was by no means easy to remain uncorrupted considering the opportunities that presented themselves.

In old China, Comrade Shao Lizi was nicknamed "the old peacemaker." This nickname was given in praise of his consistent advocacy of sincere cooperation between the CCP and the KMT and the use of peaceful methods to solve all discord.

In the many talks there were held between the CCP and KMT, Comrade Shao Lizi was an active instigator or direct participant. During the first period of cooperation between the CCP and the KMT, although he was not capable of direct participation, he did give his sincere support and gave much assistance in the form of actual deeds. In the summer of 1925, when he was driven out by the authorities in the French concession in Shanghai, he resolutely fled to Guangzhou, where he took part in Whampao Military Academy work and played a beneficial role in the maintenance of CCP-KMT cooperation and the preparation of the Northern Expedition. After the Xian incident, when the CCP and KMT started to hold serious talks on the second CCP-KMT cooperation, he was one of the KMT's representatives. In the middle of July 1937, during the Lushan talks, he, together with Zhang Chong and other KMT representatives, held talks with CCP representatives, comrades Zhou Enlai, Bo Gu and Lin Boqu, on relationships between the two parties, including the question of issuing a joint CCP-KMT manifesto, the question of reorganizing the Red Army, the question of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region and so forth. After some setbacks, the foundation was eventually laid for the second CCP-KMT cooperation.

Between 1943 and 1946, when Comrade Shao Lizi was secretary of the People's Political Council, he speeded up further talks on CCP-KMT cooperation. Especially after the Japanese surrender in 1945, when Chairman Mao personally came to Chongqing, he, together with Zhang Qun, Wang Shijie and other KMT representatives, held talks with Zhou Enlai, Wang Ruofei and other comrades and the two parties signed the minutes of the talks and reached the "10 October Agreement." In January 1946, he was one of the representatives at the political consultative conference in Chongqing, where he participated in the passing of the resolution.

In June 1946, the KMT authorities flagrantly scrapped the "10 October Agreement" and the resolution of the political conference. In one big sweep, they attacked the liberated areas in central China and launched all round attacks on the entire liberated area. Thus a civil war broke out once again. In the middle of November, the KMT authorities even convened a one-party "national congress" which was violently opposed by the broad masses of the people. It also infuriated Comrade Shao Lizi. Consequently, he refused to participate in it. For a leading member of the KMT, this was indeed a rare thing.

After a civil war of 2 1/2 years and by the end of 1948, the principle military force of the KMT and the majority of their crack companies and regiments had already been annihilated and they were on the verge of total collapse as a

result of mass desertion so on 1 January 1949, Chiang Kai-shek made a new year's plea for peace. On 14 January, Chairman Mao Zedong issued a statement on the current situation. Fighting blow-for-blow, he put forth an eight-point peace proposal to the effect that the CCP were willing to hold peace talks with the Nanjing KMT government and any other local KMT government or military clique on the basis of the eight-point plan. On the 21st, Chiang Kai-shek was forced to declare a "retreat." Representing the "president" of the Nanjing government, Li Zongren agreed to adopt the eight-point proposal put forth by Chairman Mao as the basis for peace talks. In this way, the "old peacemaker," Comrade Shao Lizi, was once again sent specially by the KMT government as a peace talks representative, as their chief representative in fact. At the time, he said to journalists: "I sense that this is an extremely difficult mission. However, we really do need peace. In order to maintain the well-being of the country and to reduce the hardship suffered by the people, everyone is desperately hoping for peace. Both the CCP and the KMT are of this opinion. Therefore, I think that my mission can be achieved and the success of peace can be speeded up." Therefore, through liaisons and exchanges of ideas between the CCP and KMT, it was confirmed that the Shanghai people's peace delegation should first go to Beiping to hold talks on questions such as the time and place for peace talks and the restoration of postal links and transport services. The delegation chose Yan Huiqing, Zhang Shizhao and Jiang Yong. Comrade Shao Lizi went to exchange views in a personal capacity. They flew into Beiping on 14 February and were welcomed by Ye Jianying, Xu Bing and other comrades. During the negotiations, they talked sincerely about peace and ardently hoped for true peace. Comrade Shao Lizi yearned more than ever for the realization of hopes for peace. He said at a banquet: "It is regrettable that peace did not come early. However, peace is like a prairie fire which, not having burnt itself out, is rekindled by the spring wind." I hope the obstacles to peace can be swept away.... As I am, I cannot represent either side. However, people in the south eagerly yearn for peace and they would prefer Beiping-style peace to Tianjin-style peace." After 2 weeks of negotiations, the Shanghai people's peace delegation, full of hope, returned to Nanjing on 27 February, thus completing its task. This constituted a blow to the warmongers in the KMT Nanjing government and encouragement for the advocates of peace.

On 24 March, the KMT authorities decided to organize a Nanjing government peace talks delegation and once again sent Comrade Shao Lizi as a peace talks representative. On 1 April, with Zhang Zhizhong as their chief representative, Shao Lizi, Zhang Shizhao, Huang Shaohong, Liu Fei and Li Zheng as representatives, and Qu Wu and others as advisers, the delegation reached Beiping and held official talks with the CCP delegation with Zhou Enlai as chief representative and Ye Jianying, Bin Boqu, Li Weiham and Nei Rongzhen and others as representatives. They discussed the draft of the "domestic peace agreement" which contained 8 articles and 24 sections. However, the KMT government refused to sign, causing the talks to fail. On 21 April, Chairman Mao Zedong and Commander in Chief Zhu De gave the order to advance on the whole country. That evening, the PLA forced its way across the Yangtze River, thoroughly destroying the defenses on the Yangtze River that

the KMT authorities had erected with so much effort and causing disorder within the Nanjing government. When the Nanjing government sent an emergency cable asking about the delegation's date of return and the delegation discussed the question of whether or not to return to the south, Comrade Shao Lizi was the first to resolutely speak out against returning south. In fact, prior to this, he had already brought his wife, Comrade Fu Xuewen, to Beiping, having at an early stage made concrete preparations to stay in Beiping. In the battle that was to decide the fate of China, he resolutely crossed over onto the side of the people's revolution under the leadership of the CCP. From that moment on, he embarked upon a new path in his career.

A True Friend of the CCP

In 1949, when the whole country was liberated, Comrade Shao Lizi was already 67 years of age. He was relaxed and healthy despite his old age. He took an active part in state politics, foreign affairs and talks on major affairs of state. He worked hard for socialism. His thinking progressed continuously with the times and his reverence for Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou increased day by day.

In 1949, Comrade Shao Lizi attended the first CPPCC and took part in the founding of the PRC. With the establishment of the Central People's Government, he became a member of the government administrative council and a member of the Standing Committee of the first, second, third and fourth CPPCC's and a deputy to and Standing Committee member of the first, second and third NPC. At the same time, he held various important posts in the China Federation of Literary and Art Circles, the Overseas Chinese Affairs Commission, the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, the China-Soviet Friendship Association and the World Peace Council.

Comrade Shao Lizi was extremely fond of learning and always had a book in his hand. In his later years, he devoted even greater efforts to the study of Marxism-Leninism and [as published] Mao Zedong Thought, as well as the principles and policies of the CCP. He was frank and broadminded, open and aboveboard. He had the courage to do things and to speak out. He mentioned without reserve everything which he knew to be beneficial to the state and the people. By as early as 1954, at the first session of the First NPC, proceeding from the point of view of the socialist planned economy, he had put forth the need for the planned control of population growth. In the course of his inspection tours with NPC and CPPCC organizations, he made contact with the masses, understood the situation, delved deep into reality and carried out investigations and research. Furthermore, he reported situations accurately and actively expressed ideas. Many ideas were correct and feasible and were accepted by the party and government. Comrade Shao Lizi's love for the CCP and the people and his frank and unreserved political style are especially worthy of our praise and study.

Comrade Shao Lizi was a famous KMT democrat. In 1949, he took part in a meeting of KMT democratic representatives in Beijing and was elected a member of the Standing Committee of the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT. He assumed the

posts of chairman of the Social Liaison Work Committee and vice chairman of the Work Committee for the Peaceful Liberation of Taiwan. He was one of the leading members of the Revolutionary Committee of the KMT. He was always enthusiastic about the work of the committee organizations. He was concerned about the great task of the return of Taiwan and reunifying the motherland. In view of his historical ties with members of the KMT army and government in Taiwan, through broadcasts, news reports, speeches and articles, he called upon those who had gone to Taiwan to clearly recognize the road ahead and to grasp their own fate. At the same time, he spoke to them about the situation and about policies, so that they would devote efforts to the peaceful reunification of the motherland. From beginning to end, Comrade Shao Lizi adhered to his belief in peaceful struggle. He was unrelenting in his struggle for the peaceful reunification of the motherland.

At present, the face of the nation is changing every day and the situation is good. The conditions are even more favorable for adopting peaceful means for solving disputes and putting into effect the desire for the peaceful reunification of the motherland. We fervently hope that KMT army and government personnel in Taiwan and abroad will take Comrade Shao Lizi as their model and strive for the early achievement of a peaceful reunification in order to console the "old peacemaker's" soul.

From the time of his participation in the national and democratic revolutions, Comrade Shao Lizi, having lived and worked for a long time under the KMT regime, trod an intricate path. Eventually, in the twilight of his life, he accepted the leadership of the CCP and devoted his wisdom and strength to the cause of the people. History is not without feelings. The people will never forget those who have done good deeds for them.

CSO: 4005/1063

PARTY AND STATE

REPORT ON RULING PARTY WORK STYLE

Third Talk

OW031401 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 29 Jun 82

[Radio talk by (Zhang Shuling) and (Liu Fuzhen): "Correctly Use One's Power To Work for the Interests of the People"--third in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Text] The Chinese Communist Party is a ruling party with 39 million party members. Many cadres who are party members have been entrusted by the party, the state and the people to assume certain leading posts. Therefore, whether or not a cadre who is a party member can correctly use his power to work for the interests of the people has become an extremely important issue which directly affects the enthusiasm of the people, the rise or decline of our cause and even the life or death of the party.

Here we wish to express our views on how one can correctly use one's power to serve the interests of the people:

1. To work for the interests of the people is the basic purpose of our party and the fundamental stand of all communist party members. In "Manifesto of the Communist Party" Marx and Engels solemnly declared: All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or ones that served the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is a self-conscious, independent movement of a vast majority, one that serves the interests of the vast majority."

Adhering to Marxist principle, our party has, since its founding, defined its fundamental purpose as that of wholeheartedly serving the people. This purpose is determined by the party's class nature and its historical mission. The proletariat represents the most advanced productive force in the history of social development of mankind. It is also the last of the suppressed and exploited classes. Ultimately, only by emancipating entire mankind can the proletariat emancipate itself. The party is the vanguard of the proletariat, and its maximum objective and final goal are the realization of communism. This shows that the interests of the party are compatible with those of the proletariat and the people. Aside from those interests, the party works for no other.

Those party members who run counter to the interests of the people and work for their own particular interests are not true communist party members. To fight all one's life for the cause of communism and wholeheartedly serve the people represents the basic stand of all communist party members. Comrade Mao Zedong said: This contingent of ours works for the entire purpose of emancipating the people and for the interests of the people. Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out: All the sacrifices, efforts and struggles of our party members are made for nothing but for the well-being and emancipation of the masses of people. Under the socialist conditions today and with our party ruling the country, our cadres who are party members, particularly those who assume responsible posts, have a grave responsibility. However, one must not change one's stand, no matter what position one holds or what job one undertakes.

Where does our power come from? Our power can only come from the people. In their effort to emancipate themselves, the people have delegated power to those who can represent them and truly work for them--the members of the communist party. This power also means responsibility and obligation to serve the people. It should not be regarded as a means to seek one's personal interests.

If our cadres who are party members regard their power as a sign to stand over the masses and use their power to lord it over the people and engage in malpractices for selfish ends, they will consciously or unconsciously set themselves against the masses.

In our country, differences in positions only reflect a division of labor. They have nothing to do with the degree of one's respectability or social status. All party members have the obligation to wholeheartedly serve the people. They have no right to seek private interests and enjoy special privileges politically or [word indistinct] of livelihood. This is the kind of fundamental stand that our party members, particularly leading cadres, should adopt towards the masses.

2. It is necessary to correctly use one's power to work for the interests of the people. As we mentioned before, only by tackling the issue of how to deal with the masses and deciding one's fundamental stand in this regard can one correctly use the power in one's hand to work for the interests of the masses.

Now, let us further discuss how to correctly use our power to serve the interests of the people. We believe that the most fundamental thing in serving the interests of the people is to lead the masses in persistently following the socialist road.

The victories won by socialism in China are victories for Marxism and also the result of the valiant struggles waged by CCP members and the people of all nationalities in China. We have already eliminated the exploiting classes and established a socialist political, economic and cultural system. Although this newly established system still needs improvement, it has nevertheless taken root in China, withstood many rigorous tests and shown its conclusion drawn by

the Chinese people after scores of years of hard work under the leadership of the party. Only by continuously marching forward along this broad avenue can we achieve our final goal of realizing communism.

At present, on one hand we must carry out propaganda and educational work among the masses to help them strengthen their belief that socialism will definitely win victory, join their efforts in developing socialist material and spiritual civilization and bring into full play the superiority of the socialist system. On the other hand, we must give full play to the spirit of being responsible to the people, proceed from the basic interests of the broad masses of people and keep in mind the interests of the state, the collective and the individual. We must closely link the individual interests of the masses with their overall interests and their immediate interests with their long-term interests; and we must combat the erroneous practices of undermining socialism and sabotaging the socialist economy under the pretext of working for the interests of the people.

At present there are some signs of seeking private gain at public expense in some units such as by indiscriminately issuing bonuses and privately dividing state property among themselves. On the surface, they are doing something good for the masses, but in essence these actions undermine socialism and harm the basic interests of the people.

We have said: First, we need to feed ourselves; second, we need construction. This means that we must link the long-term interests of the people with their immediate interests. Generally, these immediate interests are entirely compatible with the long-term interests. We must also solve problems within our capability and tackle problems that the masses want to solve very badly. To listen to the people's views and to concern ourselves with the weal and woe of the people is a specific act of serving the people's interests.

We must do our best to perform some good deeds for the masses in the course of continuously developing production. Particular attention must be paid to solving those problems that the masses want to solve very badly. We must let the people enjoy some benefits that they can see with their own eyes so that they will realize that we are really working on their behalf and for their interests.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the party Central Committee has paid full attention to the livelihood of the masses. It has done a great deal of work in tackling problems of the people's immediate concern such as problems concerning wages, commodity prices and housing shortage, problems concerning youth employment and concerning peasants who have become well-to-do and problems concerning improving the party's style of work.

Over the past 3 years the state has given jobs to more than 20 million people, and built houses for the people with a total floor space of 220 million square meters. The wages of staff members and workers and the income of

peasants have also been increasing in varying degrees. The state has subsidized the production of people's daily necessities and basically insured the stability of commodity prices. Some party and government leading organs have made strenuous efforts to tackle prominent problems in their respective fields.

Practice has proven that so long as we sincerely work for the people, they will certainly support our work. For example, the Tianjin Municipal CCP Committee and municipal people's government have tackled three major problems concerning the people's welfare under the leadership of the central authorities in the past 2 years. First, they tackled the problem of building houses, making housing assignments and dismantling earthquake shelters. During the past 2 years they have built new houses with a total floor space of 7.5 million square meters. During the second half of 1981 more than 100,000 army men and civilians moved into new houses from their earthquake shelters.

Second, they insured an ample supply of nonstaple foodstuffs for the people during the Spring Festival. In the past most of such foodstuffs were sold through the back door. During this year's Spring Festival the municipal people's government took interest in the matter itself. It adopted effective measures to insure that the people could buy whatever they wanted when doing their Spring Festival shopping.

Third, for many years the city's masses had been drinking salty water. Now they have seen an initial improvement in the situation. In the future this situation will further improve when the project of diverting water from the Luan River into Tianjin's water supply system is completed.

The solution of these three problems has not only won support and praise from the masses, but also played a significant role in correcting unhealthy practices among the cadres and improving relations between the party and the masses.

Because our present production development still cannot keep pace with the demands of the people's material and cultural life, some problems concerning the people's vital interests still cannot be rapidly solved. In this situation, we should tell the truth to the people who are reasonable and understanding. In order to truly serve the people's interests, the communists and the cadres of the state organs should set an example in being honest and unselfish in performing their official duties and in resolutely struggling against the unhealthy tendency of abusing power to seek personal gains.

The party has consistently educated its members that their personal interests should be subordinate to the interests of the nation and the people and that under no circumstances should they place their personal interests first. Therefore, selfishness, slackness in work, corruption and ostentatiousness are the most despicable things while unselfishness, wholehearted devotion to public duties and hard work are respectable deeds. These good deeds are precisely what the broad masses of our party members have done in the past several decades. In order to wipe out class oppression and exploitation, innumerable communists did not hesitate to sacrifice themselves, and they

stepped into the breach as others fell and wrote with their lives and blood one deeply touching communist song of victory after another in the years of war. Before their deaths, they were honest in performing their official duties in the interests of the people. After their deaths, the people forever respected and cherished their memory.

Since our party assumed power, the broad masses of communists have not forgotten that it is their bounden duty to serve the people. They work diligently, cautiously and conscientiously at their posts. Many veterans of the revolution exert their utmost efforts and work selflessly day and night in the interests of the people. During the last streamlining of the government organization, many veteran comrades again showed their lofty virtue of unselfishness. Some voluntarily stepped back to the second or third line to yield important positions to young people. Others have retired, but they have not changed their desire to work for the interests of the people. What they think of is not a comfortable retired life, but how to do what they can to serve the people again. Facing the corruption of capitalist thinking, many party members and cadres repudiate embezzlement and bribery and dare to impartially enforce the law. They always regard themselves as public servants and their duties as a social division of labor. In their minds, to hold power means fulfillment of duties in working diligently and conscientiously to implement the party's policies and complete the tasks assigned by the party and the people. Therefore, they never seek self-interests although they wield power. Some comrades never violate the principle of showing preference for their relatives and friends, although they hold personnel administrative power. Some comrades are handling large amounts of money, but they are honest and never take a penny. These show the essential and main aspect of our party.

The other aspect is that unhealthy tendencies in the party so far have not taken a fundamental turn for the better due to the ideological influence of the exploiting classes and the sabotage of Lin Biao and the "gang of four." Some persons under the influence of ultraindividualism are taking advantage of their powers of office or their relations with other powerful persons to seek personal gain. Some of them abuse their powers of office to wantonly transfer their sons, daughters and other relatives to better jobs or to change the peasant status of their relatives back home and thus move them to urban areas. Some persons occupy large residences while there is a critical housing shortage among the people. Some of them even use public funds and material to build houses for their own use. Others take advantage of their powers of office to interfere with college student enrollment and college graduates' job assignments. Still others abuse government foreign exchanges in order to buy things for personal use. Some persons take advantage of their powers of office to protect their sons and daughters from punishment by law after they commit crimes. Some use public funds and material to hold extravagant banquets for guests or use them as gifts to others in order to establish under-the-table relationships. They do not share the people's cares and burdens and they grab gains at the expense of the country and the people. They contend with the people for interests rather than seek interests for the people. In the last 2 or 3 years, there has been a remarkable increase of serious crimes

such as smuggling, dealing in smuggled goods, embezzlement, taking bribes, speculation, fraud and theft involving state and collective properties. This is because a very small number of communists and cadres of state organs have forgotten their bounden duty to serve the people's interests and lost the virtue of being honest and unselfish in performing official duties. This is because they have been hit by the sugar-coated bullet and become the captives of the bourgeoisie.

A fundamental criterion for qualifying or disqualifying a communist is to see whether he works for the public interest or personal interests, whether he works for the interests of the people or for the interests of a certain faction or himself. All communists should take this criterion as an important content of their cultivation of party spirit.

Fourth Talk

OW052333 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 30 Jun 82

[Radio talk by (Li Tao): "Represent the People and Be Responsible to the People"--fourth in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Text] The Chinese Communist Party is a proletarian political party working for the interests of all the Chinese people. Whether one, as a communist party member, always speaks and acts in the interests of the party and the people and is responsible to the party and the people, is the basic indicator of whether one's party spirit is pure. Represent the people and be responsible to them--this is the highest principle of proletarian party spirit.

Marx and Engels long ago pointed out in the "Communist Manifesto": "All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority."

The communist party is the vanguard of the proletariat. Other than working for the interest of the broadest masses of the people, it has no special interest of its own. The party represents the fundamental interest of the proletariat and that of the masses of the people. The party's sole purpose is to serve the people wholeheartedly.

To serve the people, the party must be responsible to the people. This means that the people should benefit from our services. Hence, the supreme test of all the party's words and deeds is whether they are in the best interests and enjoy the support of the broadest masses of the people.

The communist cause pursued by the party is the common cause of millions of people. The proletarian party is only small part of the people. Separated from the people, not only will all the struggles and ideals of the party come to nothing, but they will all become meaningless. Therefore, we say, the

party's interest means the people's interest, and to be responsible to the party means to be responsible to the people. The two are essentially identical. Viewpoints separating the party's interest from the people's responsibility to the party from responsibility to the people and regard the two as in opposition are all wrong.

Every communist party member must fully understand the identity of the party's and people's interests and the identity of responsibility to the party and to the people, closely integrate himself with the masses, share weal and woe with the masses of the people and never for a moment be divorced from them. This is what we call party spirit or strong party spirit.

Represent the people and be responsible to the people--this is the starting point from which the party proceeds in all its work. Proceeding from this fundamental point, our party in different historical periods formulated its programs, lines, principles and policies which represent the people's interests and enjoy the people's support; formed the three fine work styles of integrating theory with practice, forging close ties with the masses and making self-criticism; and trained a great number of communist fighters who advanced wave upon wave and gave their all for the interests of the people. Because of this, our party enjoys the boundless love and esteem of the people.

In decades of revolution and construction, our party has led the people in achieving brilliant successes. However, we have also made mistakes of one kind or another in work and guidance. Nevertheless, whether a party is responsible to the people is not judged by whether it has made mistakes but by its attitude towards mistakes.

Out of its boundless loyalty to the people's interest and its keen sense of responsibility to the people's cause, our party resolutely does everything beneficial for the people. If our party has done something wrong and hurt the people's interests, it will resolutely correct its mistakes. Upholding truth and correcting mistakes--this shows exactly that our party represents the people and is responsible to them. As Lenin said, the attitude of a party towards its own mistakes is the most important and most reliable yardstick to judge whether it is serious and whether it is truly fulfilling its obligations to its own class and the laboring masses.

Openly admitting mistakes, revealing their causes, analyzing the circumstances in which they are made and carefully discussing ways to correct them--this is the mark of a serious party. Words and deeds doubting and negating the party as the faithful representative of the people's interest, because the party has made mistakes, are extremely wrong.

Representing the people and holding ourselves responsible to them--these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause. Only by representing the people and being responsible to them can we win their support and trust. Chiang Kai-shek represented the interests of the big landlords and the big

bourgeoisie, firmly opposed the people and ultimately ended in failure. By contrast, in leading the revolutionary and construction cause, our party stands completely in line with the will of the people and is responsible to them. Therefore, we have enjoyed the people's wholehearted support and won a series of great victories.

Comrade Hu Yaobang incisively pointed out: "Historical experience shows us that whoever goes against the will of the people will end up in failure. Our party should constantly educate party members and cadres not to go against the will of the people. As long as we follow the will of the people, our cause is bound to triumph." This is a summing up of our party's experience in protracted revolutionary struggles.

How, then, can our party organizations at various levels and every communist party member represent the people and be responsible to them?

First, they must identify politically with the party Central Committee. This means that they must consciously implement the party's correct line, because it is a concentrated reflection of the interest of the people of the whole country.

If party organizations at various levels and every party member were to implement the party's correct line 100 percent, they would not only insure the realization of the interests of the party and people but would also help the masses gain a concrete understanding that the party is the true representative of their interests.

If they each go their own way and feign compliance while actually going against the party's correct line, the party's tasks would not be fulfilled, the fundamental interest of the masses of the people would suffer, and close relations between the party and the masses of the people would be undermined.

Therefore, the party's most important organizational principle and political discipline is that the whole party must obey the Central Committee and politically remain identical with it.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, it has made the timely strategic decision to shift work emphasis to socialist modernization, reaffirmed a Marxist ideological, political and organizational line, comprehensively carried out the historical task of straightening out the guiding principles and blazed a way for socialist modernization suited to China's conditions.

This great significant change in the party's leadership embodies the will and desire of the whole party and the people of the whole country and is in line with the common aspirations of the party and the people. Therefore, identifying ourselves with the party Central Committee and conscientiously implementing the line, principles and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee is the basic expression for representing the people's interests and being responsible to them.

To implement the party's principles and policies, we must proceed from actual conditions. This is also an expression of being responsible to the people. Some comrades seem to have a strong sense of responsibility to their superiors. When they receive the party's instructions, they always copy and blindly forward them word for word. They do not implement the instructions in light of actual local conditions. Nor do they pay attention to whether the masses are for or against these instructions. They practice commandism and carry out instructions forcibly. Other comrades one-sidedly stress their responsibility to the people, resist the party's instructions and do not report to their superiors. Still others who know that the policy and measures decided upon by higher levels are not in keeping with actual conditions, fail to proceed from the interests of the party and the people and actively present corrective proposals, but act perfunctorily, go through the motions, or even obsequiously comply with the whims of their superiors. The above-mentioned attitudes are being responsible neither to the party nor to the people. The result inevitably will be harmful to the party's leadership, adversely affecting the party's work, hurting the people and endangering the people's cause.

Second, all party members must place the interests of the whole nation and the masses above everything, at all times and everywhere. The cause led by the party in revolution and construction is a cause of overall importance. The interests of the party represent our overall interests. That means the common interests of the whole nation and the entire working class. In order to represent the people and hold ourselves responsible to them, we must correctly handle relations between whole and partial interests and between long-term and immediate interests, and to correctly handle relations between the interests of the state, collectives and individuals.

A current issue meriting attention is the growth of departmentalism, decentralism and liberalism. Some people refuse to follow the unified state plan and stop production of certain products no longer marketable in the course of making economic readjustments. They do not turn out products to meet the needs of society and the people. They turn out more products bringing big profits, while manufacturing fewer less profitable products. They refuse to manufacture anything bringing no profit at all. Some of them violate discipline in the financial and economic sphere, concoct various pretexts for arbitrarily holding back state funds, and try to evade taxes. They benefit themselves at the expense of the public interest, wilfully issue bonuses and material rewards and privately divide state properties among themselves. Some of them fail to understand the state's difficulties, use the pretext of showing concern for the well-being of the masses to ask for money from the state, and fight for higher pay or greater benefits. Some violate the commodity price policy, wilfully raise or reduce prices, inflate them in some disguised way, and wantonly buy or sell at a negotiated price in order to benefit their own unit. Such acts, which actually harm the fundamental interests of the party and the people under the pretext of working for the interests of the masses, only represent a very few people among the masses. They do not really represent

the masses. Nor do they hold themselves responsible for the people. Actually, it manifests selfishness and individualism. Representing the masses and holding itself responsible to the people, our party will naturally concern itself with the sufferings of the people, listen to their views and create conditions to perform good deeds for the people whenever possible. However, to truly represent the interests of the masses, we must not only concern ourselves with their immediate, but also with their long-term, interests. We must never promote the immediate interests of the masses at the expense of their long-term interests, because, without overall and long-term interests, we will have little foundation to work for our partial and immediate interests. Therefore, party organizations and member cadres at all levels must foster an overall point of view. In tackling problems, they must closely link the interests of their own department and unit with the party's overall interests and take into consideration immediate, as well as the long-term, interests. If one's partial interests run counter to overall interests and if one's immediate interests run counter to long-term interests, we must uphold the principle of placing the party's interests above all and unconditionally subordinate partial to overall interests and subordinate immediate to long-term interests.

Third, representing the people and holding themselves responsible to them, the broad masses of party members, particularly the party's leading cadres at all levels, must drop pretentious airs, go amid the masses to size up the people's situation and listen to their views, and help the masses solve some problems which need immediate solution as well as problems involving thousands and thousands of households. Representing the people and holding themselves responsible to the people, party members at all levels must clearly dare to wage struggle and tackle problems. In some units, good people and deeds are not being commended, and nobody dares to expose and repudiate bad people and evil deeds. Some leading cadres pursue the philosophy that doing less is better than doing more, turning a blind eye to everything in order to protect themselves. As a result, the spirit of uprightness is suppressed, while unhealthy tendencies prevail. All this has directly harmed the interests of the people. To represent the people and hold oneself responsible to them is the primary task of every party member in strengthening party spirit and improving party style. As long as we truly represent the interests of the people and hold ourselves responsible to them in everything, the people will wholeheartedly support and unswervingly follow the party, and our party will definitely flourish and win one victory after another.

Fifth Talk

OW062327 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 1 Jul 82

[Radio talk by (Zhang Youyi): "The Party Should Make the Constitution and the Law Its Norm of Conduct"--fifth in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Excerpts] In discussing the question of our party's work style, we have to deal with the relationship between the party's work style on the one hand and the constitution and the law on the other. As a matter of fact, whether to abide by the constitution and the law or not, is also a question of the party's work style--and an important one.

First of all, our party's work style is related to its rules and regulations. Whether or not the party's work style is good is more often than not determined by how the party's rules and regulations are implemented. The party's rules and regulations provide not only for its nature, program, tasks, organization and the principles guiding its activities, but also for the law which must be observed and its associated requirements to be met in the new historical period. The party's rules and regulations are its norm of conduct, which party organizations at all levels and every party member must strictly abide by and implement.

Why should our party make the constitution and the law its norm of conduct, in addition to its rules and regulations? After coming to power, the party must make the constitution and the law its norm of conduct, which is determined by its position and role in the life of the state. Since the founding of the PRC, we have successively formulated a number of laws. The first constitution was formulated in 1954. Now the draft revised constitution has been made public. The party leads the people in formulating the constitution, and it must take the lead in implementing it. The party is in the leading position in our country. If the party carried out its activities in violation of the law, how could it require the masses of people to abide by the law?

It is necessary to improve the party's work style in order to carry out socialist construction. Abiding by the constitution and the law is a guarantee for rectifying the party's work style and carrying out its tasks. Only when the constitution and the law are effectively implemented will it be possible to usefully consolidate the socialist economic base, to prevent and deal blows at sabotage activities by the enemy, to give full scope and protect socialist democracy and to enable the people throughout the country to effectively engage in production, work and study and to live an orderly life. If communist party members fail to take the lead in abiding by the constitution and the law, how can the above aims be achieved?

Now there are indeed some party members who think that it will be all right as long as they observe party discipline, and that it does not matter at all whether or not they abide by the law. They think nothing of the law of the state, and their sense of the legal system has been blunted. This makes it impossible to rectify the party's work style and is not conducive to strengthening and improving party leadership. The masses of people are used to observing the party from the work style of party cadres and members. Only when our party cadres and members really uphold and carry forward the party's fine tradition, exemplarily implement its line, principles and policies, observe the law and discipline and work hard, will the broad masses rally round and wholeheartedly follow the party. Only thus will our party be able to overcome all difficulties and dangers and accomplish its historic mission. It is in this sense that our party makes the constitution and the law its norm of conduct and leads the masses of peoples forward.

Second, it is necessary for the party to make the constitution and the law its norm of conduct in order to carry out the party's program, line, principles and policies. The constitution and the law are the unity of the party's propositions and the people's will, and the state takes compulsory measures to

ensure their implementation. Since its publication, our draft revised constitution has received nationwide, wholehearted support. This is because it accords with the basic interests and demands of the people throughout the country and fully embodies the party's propositions.

However, as far as the whole party is concerned, there are still some unhealthy phenomena in the party's way of thinking and work style. Communist party members have violated the law and discipline. If we fail to rectify the party's work style and strictly require party members, especially leading party cadres, to make the constitution and the law their norm of conduct, how can we uphold the four fundamental principles and ensure the implementation of the party's line, principles and policies? In that case, how can we unite the broad masses of people to effectively perform their work in various fields and carry out socialist construction?

Third, our party's rules and regulations stipulate that all communist party members must abide by the law. It is one of the communist party members' duties to do so. Any party members who have violated the law must, without exception, be punished according to the law of the state. As far as those communist party members who neglect their duties and defy the law of the state are concerned, they cannot be disciplined by party discipline alone. Considering themselves to be special party members, they seem to think that rectifying the party's work style and abiding by the law of the state have nothing to do with them. Therefore, the party requires all its organizations and members to make its rules and regulations as well as the constitution and the law their norm of conduct.

Since the downfall of the "gang of four," a new situation has occurred in building the socialist legal system in our country. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee issued the great call for strengthening the socialist legal system.

At an enlarged meeting of the CCP Central Committee's Political Bureau in 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping emphatically pointed out: All citizens are equal before the law and the system. Whoever violates the law should be investigated by a public security organ and dealt with by a judicial organ according to law. No one is allowed to interfere with this or to remain at large.

The resolution on certain questions in the history of our party since the founding of the PRC adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee points out: It is essential to improve our constitution and laws and ensure their strict observance and inviolability.

Party organizations at all levels, like all other social organizations, must carry out their activities within the scope permitted by the constitution and the law. All party organizations and members, especially leading party cadres, must constantly keep this firmly in mind. In addition to observing party discipline, they must make the constitution and the law their basic norm of conduct. At no time must they violate or undermine the constitution and the law. They must take the lead in guarding the sanctity of the constitution and the law.

Sixth Talk

OW070051 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 2 Jul 82

[Radio talk by (Li Lian): "The Ruling Party Must Pay Special Attention To Keeping Close to the Masses of the People"--sixth in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Excerpts] Forging close ties with the masses of the people and following the mass line in all our work--this is a glorious tradition of our party formed through repeated practice in the protracted course of revolution and construction. In the revolutionary war years, it was our magic weapon to vanquish the enemy. In the new historical period, carrying forward the fine work style of forging close ties with the masses is still of very great practical significance for uniting and leading the masses of the people to win victories in socialist modernization.

On the one hand, the Chinese people understand from their personal experience that, without the party's leadership, it is impossible for them to carry out the revolutionary struggle, win their own liberation, become masters and build a prosperous and happy country. On the other hand, to exercise its leadership, the communist party must forge close ties with the masses of the people. If the party were divorced from the masses, there would be no one to lead. Party leadership would become irrelevant, and revolution and construction will fail.

Our party is a party which knows how to forge close ties with the masses. From the day of its foundation, the party made forging close ties with the masses an important part of strengthening party-building. Our party's consistent and basic purpose is to serve the people wholeheartedly, never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses and proceed in all cases with the interests of the people in mind.

To further improve the party's work style and forge close ties between the party and the masses, it is still necessary to persist in the following:

1. It is necessary to properly solve the question of our basic attitude towards the masses of the people. We must deal with the masses as equals and as their servants.
2. It is necessary to firmly trust and rely on the masses and correctly lead them onward.
3. It is necessary to adhere to the working method of "from the masses, to the masses."
4. It is necessary to be concerned with the well-being of the masses and consciously share weal and woe with them.

To increase the party's fighting capacity, make its cause prosper, accelerate the building of a powerful socialist country with a high level of material and cultural development and ultimately realize the great communist ideal, every communist party member and cadre must forge close ties with the masses and never for a moment be divorced from them. This should be the lifelong motto of every comrade.

Seventh Talk

OW070514 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 4 Jul 82

[Radio talk by (Liao Zuchu): "Uphold Collective Leadership, Oppose Arbitrary Actions"--seventh in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Excerpts] Uphold collective leadership and oppose arbitrary actions--this is an important content of the guiding principles for inner-party political life. Seriously implementing this guiding principle is of great significance to improving and strengthening party leadership. We shall discuss our understanding of this question from the following three aspects:

1. Collective leadership is an important principle of party leadership. Collective leadership demands that decisions on all major issues should be made collectively at the party committee after discussion and should not be made by an individual arbitrarily. In accordance with this principle, our party establishes the system of combining collective leadership with the division of labor and individual responsibility. Upholding collective leadership is the concrete expression and application of the mass line in the party's leadership. The mass line is the basic line of our party in all work. Because every member of the party committee assumes responsibility for work in a certain field and maintains links with a number of the masses, it is not only necessary for leading cadres to listen extensively to the views of the masses regarding their work and integrate themselves with the masses, but it is also necessary for secretaries and deputies of a party committee to seriously listen to the views of the committee members. Collective leadership will be able to summarize the views and demands of the masses in all fields as reflected by members of the committee and fully bring into play their collective wisdom. This will avoid subjectivism and partiality and help arrive at correct decisions conforming to the objective circumstances.

Collective leadership is dictated by our party's important principle of democratic centralism. Democratic centralism is our party's basic organizational line. Collective leadership is of extreme importance to the strict adherence to democratic centralism. To ensure successful leadership, the party committee must first achieve a unity of thinking and action among its members on the basis of democratic centralism. Within the party committee, the principle of the minority subordinate to the majority shall apply with regard to the relationship between the secretary and members of the committee. A patriarchal style and arbitrary actions all violate this principle.

Collective leadership is our party's glorious tradition and constitutes one of the conditions for the triumphant advance of China's socialist revolution and construction.

2. Personal arbitrary actions are harmful. During the 10-year turmoil, Lin Biao and the "gang of four" decked themselves out as the incarnation of the party and placed themselves above the party's Central Committee. They used their gang to replace the party and tried to usurp party, government and army leadership. As a result, the principle of democratic centralism and collective leadership was completely undermined.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, with efforts geared to eliminating chaos and restore order, the party's glorious traditions have been revived and further developed, the inner-party democratic life has gradually returned to normal and the party's collective leadership has been strengthened. However, personal arbitrary actions, the what-I-say-goes practice, patriarchal manners and other phenomena detrimental to collective leadership still exist in some party committees. Personal arbitrary actions are manifestations of unhealthy party style. They are very harmful to the party because they violate the principle of collective leadership requiring that the minority is subordinate to the majority and because they disrupt sound inner-party life.

3. Achieve unity in understanding, perfect the system and uphold the party's collective leadership. In his article "On Strengthening the Party Committee System," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: The party committee system is an important party institution for ensuring collective leadership and preventing any individual from monopolizing the conduct of affairs. Party committees at all levels are the highest organ of power of the party organizations at the respective level when the party congress is not in session. Therefore, the plenary session of the party committee should be held regularly.

Under no circumstances should the party committee or its Standing Committee be replaced by other forms of organization. An organization set up for the study or handling of a specific problem should function under the leadership of the party committee and should not replace the party committee or function above it.

To ensure collective leadership in the party committee, all major issues involving the party's line, principles and policies, major work plans, appointments, removals, transfers and other actions concerning important cadres, major issues affecting the masses and other matters requiring collective party committee decisions as instructed by a superior party organ should all be sent to the party committee, its Standing Committee, its secretariat or party organization for collective discussion and decision. They should not be decided arbitrarily by an individual.

Perfecting the party committee system provides an organizational guarantee for collective leadership. However, it also relies on the party committee members, especially principal leading members, to adopt a correct attitude toward

collective leadership in order to prevent the party committee meeting from becoming a mere ritual. China has several thousands years of feudal history. Feudal autocracy and patriarchal manner still survive in a number of units and departments. To ensure collective leadership and oppose personal arbitrary action, our party's leading cadres should consciously withstand the influence of feudal autocracy and patriarchalism and correctly handle the relations between the individual and the collective.

Collective leadership must be combined with the division of labor and individual responsibility. In his article "On Strengthening the Party Committee System," Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: We must take care that neither collective leadership nor personal responsibility is overemphasized to the neglect of the other. Without collective leadership, we will be unable to pool collective wisdom and will tend to commit errors of subjectivism and partiality. Therefore, it will be difficult to exercise correct leadership. Moreover, without the division of labor and individual responsibility, there will be no one to take responsibility and collective leadership will become a mere empty form.

Eighth Talk

OW070629 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2320 GMT 5 Jul 82

[Radio talk by (Liu Hanqing): "Correctly Handle Criticism by the Masses, Strictly Forbid Retaliation"--eighth in a series of lectures on the ruling party's work style]

[Excerpts] Correctly handling criticism by the masses is a fundamental guarantee for maintaining close ties with them, as is correct implementation of the party's line, principles and policies by leading cadres at all levels in our party. It is an important condition for enlivening the socialist democratic life and upholding democratic centralism. It is a powerful weapon for combating the bourgeois political micro-organism eroding our party mechanism, for correcting shortcomings and mistakes in our work in a timely manner and for strengthening the party's fighting capacity. The "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" stipulated that leading cadres must accept criticism and views voiced by any party member found to be correct. We now talk about the following three questions:

I. Adopting a correct attitude toward criticism by the masses is of great significance to a ruling party. The CCP is a political party wholeheartedly striving for the people's interests. All words and deeds of a communist therefore must be in keeping with the maximum interests of the people, setting the highest standard for winning the support of the masses. To this end, it is necessary to have a viewpoint of trusting the masses, relying on them and learning from them. We must pay attention to their criticism and aspirations at all times. To lead the revolution and win victories, the party must uphold the principle and method of "from the masses and to the masses." An individual wanting to become wiser must heed the opinion of the masses with

humility, as only in so doing will he come closer to truth in the course of continuously rectifying mistakes. During the period of democratic revolution, we found that a correct attitude towards criticism by the masses had a direct bearing on the outcome of war and the people could easily be aroused to keep this in mind. The same thing, however, was often neglected by some comrades in time of peace and after the party became a ruling party. This is because [passage omitted]

1. Large numbers of leading cadres, transferring from the grassroots level to leading organs, did not maintain their previous close ties with the masses and consequently could not readily accept the criticism voiced by them.

2. Under socialism, the masses are the real masters of the state and society. Cadres, especially leading cadres at all levels, are public servants of the people, who must employ the power bestowed on them to promote the interests of the people. However, because our present society was born out of a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society, ideas of the exploiting class and class ideas are still influencing and corrupting people's minds. Some people, once becoming officials, loved flattery and sweet words, loathed criticism and behaved like a tiger whose backside no one dared to touch. A handful of people even used the power in their hands to suppress dissenting opinion and resorted to retaliation. The party organs and cadres will deviate from the masses if this situation is not rectified and heeded. Furthermore, the cause of the party and the people will also suffer tremendously. Correctly handling criticism by the masses therefore is a matter to which members of a ruling party should give special attention.

II. The second question is: The attitude toward criticism by the masses is in fact a question "for whom?" The correct handling of criticism by the masses, a fine party work style, was seriously undermined by the "gang of four" during the 10-year chaos. After the downfall of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the CCP Central Committee, setting to right things which had been thrown into disorder, laid down the correct line, principles and policies, vigorously restored and carried forward the fine party tradition and work style and led the whole party and the state to move again along the path of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in giant strides. But, influenced by feudal and autocratic ideas, some cadres today still cannot correctly handle criticism by the masses they use high-handed method, prohibiting others from criticizing them, and at the same time refuse to make self-criticism. More seriously, individual leading members do their best to cover up their own mistakes by suppressing criticism. These comrades have either completely forgotten or ignore the question of correct handling of criticism by the masses is in fact a question "for whom?" It is a question of serving the people wholeheartedly or of serving themselves wholeheartedly. To correctly handle criticism by the masses, it is necessary to straighten out our own stand and attitude.

III. The third question is to strengthen education and strictly uphold party discipline and the law of the country and to forbid retaliation. Some individual leading cadres in our party could not accept dissenting views and often resorted to retaliation against those who voiced criticism. In the meantime, some remnants of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," holding leading positions, still boycott and openly or secretly undermine the line, principles and policies laid down by the CCP Central Committee and support those breaking the law in the economic and other fields.

They also collude with the remnant forces to establish ties and retaliate and persecute cadres and people criticizing them. This seriously undermines the relations between the party and the masses. It should be noted that retaliation against those who voice criticism is an act that undermines the party's guiding principles and violates the law of the state.

To ensure that the democratic rights of the masses to voice criticism are protected against retaliation, the following three things must be done:

1. Individual leading cadres at all levels must study diligently in order to raise their understanding and to set right their attitude toward themselves and the masses. They must correctly handle criticism by the masses as an important link in strengthening the party spirit and improving party work style.
2. Steps must be taken to speed up the building of party and state organs and systems so as to further enhance democratic centralism in the party as well as in party life and to strengthen socialist democracy and the legal system. On the other hand, party organs must carry out regular and in-depth inspection to check on the implementation of the party constitution and the guiding principles by party members and cadres.
3. The handful of cadres persisting in retaliating against the people who voice criticism against them and behaving badly must be dealt with strictly according to party discipline and the law of the state.

Only by so doing can we uphold justice and consolidate and develop a political situation of stability and unity, mobilize the socialist enthusiasm of the masses and advance courageously with one heart and one mind in developing a socialist spiritual and material civilization.

CSO: 4005/1063

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

HELICOPTERS USED TO DROP ANTITANK MINES

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 6, 1982 p 9]

[Article by Tan Shaoji [6223 4801 4949] et al.: "Using Aircraft To Lay Mines"]

[Text] In the air in front of the invading "enemy" tanks, a number of our helicopters loaded with antitank mines swiftly and accurately dropped thousands of land mines on an area where the "enemy" tanks must pass through to slow their advancement so that favorable conditions would be created for our ground units to attack them.

The use of aircraft to lay mines provides a great deal of mobility, can cover a large area and could avoid being restricted by the terrain features. In modern warfare, whether deploying defensive moves or carrying out an offensive attack, this could play an important role. The set of photographs shows an aircraft mine-laying exercise organized by a corps of engineer unit of an unidentified unit and an air transport regiment.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. Dropping mines on a predetermined area.
2. Conscientiously doing a good job in preparation work before liftoff.
3. Engineers folding the parachutes and packing the mines.
4. Following orders, the hatch is opened.
5. The advancement of the tanks is slowed down by the mine field.

CSO: 4005/977

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

NEW IDEAS ON ANTITANK TRAINING INTRODUCED

Beijing JIEFANGJUN HUABAO [LIBERATION ARMY PICTORIAL] in Chinese No 6, 1982
pp 10-11

[Article: "Zhang Bailin Puts Forth New Teaching Ideas"]

[Text] The Formulation of Ideas Must Be Based on "Actual" Situations

In the formulation of teaching ideas, the ideas must as far as possible be based on the actual situation existing between the enemy and ourselves and not on "one-sided wish." In teaching, attention must always be paid to soliciting views and the continuous revision of teaching plans so that the teaching contents not only would focus on the characteristics of antitank warfare but would also be in line with the capabilities of our army's antitank weapons and equipment and with the study of ways to beat a superior force with an inferior force and to conquer the enemy.

PHOTO CAPTIONS [photos not reproduced]

1. Zhang Bailin [1728 2672 2651], tactics instructor of the Dalian Army School, simultaneously gives a lecture and demonstration based on the requirements of actual warfare.
2. Zhang issues a training item, explains the time and place of the actual situation and asks the students to check and measure themselves against "actual warfare requirements."

"Strictness" Must Be Adhered To in Organizing Teaching

In organizing teaching, it is necessary to adhere to strict training, strict requirements, step by step and detailed drills, the establishment of a firm foundation and not to engage in formalism. Moreover, it is necessary to follow the principles of going from the simple to the complex and of proceeding in an orderly fashion and step by step, to first train in one type of situation with one type of weapon to attack tanks and then train in numerous types of situations with different types of weapons, and to carry out separate individual drills and then a combined exercise in order for the students to acquire true skills.

PHOTO CAPTIONS [photos not reproduced]

1. Zhang Bailin, in a strict and meticulous fashion, explains to the students the main points of blowing up a tank while it is crossing a trench.
2. Zhang takes immediate action to correct the students' overconfidence and explains how to hurl explosives from a concealed position.

Strive To Set Up a "Real" Situation

In setting up a situation it is necessary to strive to make things appear as realistic and as similar to actual warfare as possible and to set up conditions which reflect the characteristics of tank warfare. Numerous things such as real equipment, real vehicles, simulation, sound, signal and remote control can be used to show battlefield situations and to simulate "enemy" action so that the students can see, hear and feel to increase their sense perceptions and avoid images of fake action.

PHOTO CAPTIONS [photos not reproduced]

1. Zhang Bailin uses a sound explosive device he had made himself to make his instructions more realistic.
2. Zhang strives to conform to the requirements of actual warfare by teaching right in front of a tank.

Teaching Methods Must Be "Flexible"

Under modern conditions, the situation in the battlefield is intricate and volatile, and in order for the students to learn how to correctly judge a situation, it is necessary to do a good job in teaching them, carry out flexible training and change the old teaching methods in which rigid principles and mechanical memorizing were applied. Moreover, it is necessary to conscientiously study the problems that could be encountered in antitank warfare and to set up more flexible situations and use more flexible methods to cultivate courage and resourcefulness in the students.

PHOTO CAPTIONS [photos not reproduced]

1. Zhang Bailin shows the students how to maneuver flexibly after firing a rocket launcher.
2. The students are encouraged to maneuver flexibly into an attack against a tank approaching the front line.

CSO: 4005/977

SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

POPULATION CONTROL SEEN AS VITAL FOR ECONOMIC PROGRESS

Kunming SIXIANG ZHANXIAN [JOURNAL OF YUNNAN UNIVERSITY] in Chinese No 1, 1982, 20 Feb 82 pp 1-7

[Article by Chen Xuguang [7115 2485 0342]: "Population Control and the Modernization Drive"]

[Excerpts] Control of population growth and speedy completion of our modernization drive are the two fundamental measures in advancing our country's social development.

This article intends to analyze the interrelationship between population control and modernization drive in order to elucidate the thesis that the control of population and the raising of population quality are objective demands made by our modernization drive and demands made in the interest of achieving the goals of our modernization. At the same time the realization of our modernization drive and the achieving of economic development and prosperity are the fundamental ways for solving our country's population problem.

Survey of the Contradiction Between Our Country's Population and Its Economy

Bringing human production of offspring, i.e., human reproduction, into the framework of social production, social production (in its broad sense) comprises two aspects: the production of material goods and the production of offspring (human reproduction). Both occur simultaneously. Production of offspring is always restricted by and correlated with the production of material goods. In other words, a balance must be maintained between the state of the population and the means of production and of subsistence. This is the fundamental viewpoint of the "two kinds of production" theory of Marxism. It is particularly the requirement of this balance between the state of the population and the means of production and subsistence which constitutes an important law of social development. From a demographic angle, because of our ignorance of this objective law and under the guidance of the "leftist" ideology, we have for a long time not only not effectively instituted birth control but rather irrationally advocated: "The more people the better, because with more people more can be accomplished," so that we actually advocated a policy of population growth, which then resulted in a large-scale increase in our population. This sharp increase in our population by far exceeded the tolerable limits of our country's economic strength, and the

aggravated manmade "population crisis" brought with it a whole series of serious social problems, such as the education problem, employment problem, a decline in the standard of living, qualitative defects in the population, etc.

According to statistics, as of the end of 1980, our population was 882.55 million, or about 22 percent of the world's population. In the preceding 31 years, the birth rate for the country's population was for a long time maintained at the annual average of somewhat over 29 per 1,000, and the natural population growth rate reached an annual average of as high as 19 per 1,000. In the 31 years from 1949 to 1980, 680 million births occurred in our country, and even deducting from this figure the number of deaths, the net figure would still be over 440 million, or an annual net increase of 14 million (cf. SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO [WORLD ECONOMIC GUIDE] of 18 May 1981). Although the natural growth rate of our population has now been reduced to around 10 per 1,000, owing to the large base figure of our population, our net population growth will, for a considerable period of time, continue to increase at a rate of about 10 million. On the one hand, the population sharply expanded, while on the other hand, owing to the mistaken macroscopic economic policy, our country's national economy experienced several severe setbacks. The 3-year "Great Leap Forward" which began in 1958, and the later 10 years of calamity caused a loss of over 600 billion yuan to our national economy, and especially the 10 years of large-scale destruction wrought by the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques brought the national economy to the brink of collapse and caused a serious imbalance in the ratio of population to economy. The present population problem in our country is evident in the contradiction between the excessive population figure and the excessive growth rate (the absolute value of each percent of increase) as against the poor economic foundation at the start coupled with a slow development of the economy which lags behind the population increase.

The principle factors in the contradictions between our population and our modernization drive are as follows:

1. There is an incongruity between the population growth and the increase in the means of subsistence, with the former outpacing the latter. In the 25 years from 1953 to 1978, the consumption funds in expenditure from the national income increased 2.9 times, an average annual increase of 5.4 percent. During the same period the population increased 66.7 percent, so that per capita the consumption funds increased only 1.3 times. Owing to the excessive increase in population, 58 percent of the annual increase in consumption funds was used to satisfy the needs of the newly added population; the balance used to raise the consumption level of the original population was only 42 percent. In 1978, our country's total grain production was 34.75 million tons, second only to the United States in world production, but, calculated on an average per capita basis, we fell far behind all other countries.

In 1980 the average amount of grain for each person throughout the country was 648 jin, an increase of 230 jin compared with that of 1949, while the population increased by 81 percent, but the 1980 figure was still below the world

average (800 jin). Owing to the population growth exceeding what expanding agriculture could provide, our country changed from an exporter to an importer of agricultural products (of course the population growth was not the only reason for this). The excessive population also created a tight supply situation in the light industry market. Even though there was an increase of several tens of times in certain light industry products, their quantity was still insufficient to satisfy the demands of the urban and rural population. Housing construction was even less able to catch up with population growth. Owing to the annually increasing number of employees and workers, about 30 to 40 percent of the total future increase in salaries and wages in cities must go to new employees and workers. This shows that the consumption level of our people is far below that of the developed countries of the world, and one important reason for this is the rapid growth of our population. In order to achieve, more or less, a balance between population growth and increase in our means of subsistence, we must on the one hand vigorously develop our national economy and increase the production of means of subsistence, and on the other hand keep a tight rein on population growth and gradually slow it. Otherwise, the shortages in our means of subsistence will worsen and the increased in population will retard any improvement in the people's livelihood.

2. The production and reproduction of population is the foundation for the reproduction of the labor force. In ordinary circumstances there is a direct ratio between the labor force and the total population. If the total population increases fast, the composition of the population will be younger and the population of working age will also rapidly increase. One of the outstanding manifestations of our country's population problem is that people of working age have increased faster than the increase of the means of production, which results in pressure on employment and creates a large population of people awaiting employment. According to statistics, in the seventies and eighties about 20 to 26 million persons reached working age every year. During the First 5-Year Plan only less than 1 million members of the labor force in cities and towns required work assignments. From 1966 on, almost 2 million awaited work assignments every year, and in 1976 that figure shot up to 3 million. Many youngsters awaiting work assignments were left over from the "Cultural Revolution," and in the 3 years from 1979 to 1981, there were 25 million awaiting work assignments. In our country each worker accounts for an average of 10,000 yuan of fixed assets (technological equipment). To assign work to 3 million people a year, the fixed assets would have to be increased by 30 billion yuan. Since the speedy increase in the population of working age exceeds the limits of possible increases in the means of production, the labor force cannot be fully employed, and this results in a series of socio-economic problems.

Besides, in the wake of advances in our socialist modernization, the technological structure of production and production efficiency will be continuously improved, and this will tend to reduce correspondingly the size of the labor force directly engaged in the production of material goods. We must also realize that there are limits to the available land as the main means of agricultural production. In view of the continuous increase in the rural population and the gradual reduction of arable land owing to the development

of industrial and communications enterprises, the expansion of towns, the tremendous upsurge of housing construction in the rural areas, and also the continuous soil erosion and soil deterioration and similar reasons, the contradiction posed by the large population as against the limited area of arable land will become more and more pronounced.

3. The level of economic development limits the cultural, scientific and technological levels, and these two factors are again being restricted by population factor. As conditions are now in our country, not only is the level of economic development being depressed by the population growth, but cultural and scientific development is also bound to suffer correspondingly owing to the population growth. According to statistics, there are now over 400 million youths under the age of 25 requiring education, and in the 17 to 20 age group there are 62.8 million who require higher education, but owing to the low level of our economic development, the funds for education from the income created by our national economy are very small. This is because the rapid population growth in our country adversely affects the state's accumulation of funds, and as a result makes it impossible to allocate further funds for educational purposes. This will certainly have a serious effect on efforts to raise the quality of our population. In the last few years the expenditure for education has been increased year by year in the course of the development of our socialist construction, and this has had a corresponding effect on the quality of our population.

The incongruities between population growth and increase of means of subsistence, between the increase of the labor force and the increase in the means of production, between the population increase and the development of cultural and educational undertakings, are aggravating the contradiction between the population factor and the fundamental elements of the four modernizations. This kind of contradiction creates great difficulties for the four modernizations drive. It is a completely different matter whether modern material civilization is to be spread and distributed in a country with a huge territory and a huge population of 1 billion people, or whether modernization is to be carried out in a medium-sized country and modern material civilization is to be spread among a population of only several tens of millions; the difficulties in the former case are undoubtedly much greater. The speed and extent of modernization is determined by the extent of capital accumulation and the strength of a country's technology. Rapid population growth hampers our capital accumulation, and this accumulation constitutes the major source for expanded reproduction. Since liberation, our national economy has been greatly developed. The growth rate of the gross industrial and agricultural output value and of the national income exceeded the growth rate in some developed capitalist countries. During the period from 1949 to 1979, the average annual industrial and agricultural output value increased at the rapid rate of 9.4 percent; 13.3 percent for industry and 4.5 percent for agriculture. Not only old China could not compare with this rate, but it was even faster than in such economically developed countries as the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, Great Britain, France and Germany. In the same period of time our country's average annual national income rose at the rate of 7.3 percent, and the fixed assets of state-operated industries amounted to somewhat over 410 billion yuan in 1980, which is over 26 times what it

was in 1952 (cf. "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History Of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC"), and 32 times that of the approximately 12.8 billions of industrial fixed assets accumulated over about 100 years in old China. The wealth of our society today is considerably greater than in the early years after liberation, but our population growth was too rapid and the increases in production, output and national income, figured on an average per capita basis, were very slow. Although the rate of development in the developed capitalist countries was lower than ours, their rate of average per capita increases in production, output and national income was much faster than ours, the major reason being that the numerical value of the denominator "population" was so much smaller than ours. Acceleration of our productivity was hampered by the too rapid growth of our population, the too large increase in the number of employees and workers, and the low level of technological equipment used in our work. The continuous raising of productivity is the major way to increase production, to lower the cost of production and to increase accumulation, as it is also the major path to a continuous raising of the people's standard of living. There are many factors that influence the improvement of productivity, the key factor being to arm the broad masses of workers with modern technological equipment. Owing to our large population, the deficiencies of our technological equipment, the particularly low productivity in industry and agriculture, and furthermore owing to the large numbers of people joining our labor force, our efforts to increase productivity have been allowed. The average rate of increase in productivity for all workers was 11.5 percent at the time of restoration of our national economy, 8.7 percent during the First 5-Year Plan, 5.4 percent during the Second 5-Year Plan, 2.5 percent during the Third 5-Year Plan and 1.3 percent during the Fourth 5-Year Plan.

The above-mentioned situation clearly indicates that the actual state of our population has already tied down our economic development to a very large degree and retarded the progress of our modernization.

Control One Step Further the Growth of Our Population

Promote Our Country's Modernization Projects

Our population problem is, in the final analysis, an economic problem; it is the unavoidable result of economic backwardness over a long period of time. "Poverty generates population." This is a statement full of deep economic and philosophical meaning. From a strategic viewpoint, in the relationships between population and economy and between population and modernization, the economy is the principal aspect of the contradiction. To pursue our modernization drive and realize the four modernizations is the fundamental method of resolving our country's population problem. However, when carrying out our modernization drive, we must also, in view of the existing state of our population, pay close attention to population control, effectively control the quantity of our population, as well as pay attention to the question of population quality, in order to speed up the progress of modernization. Ever since the seventies we have achieved outstanding results in controlling population growth. In all the seventies, 56 million less babies were born, saving over 120 million yuan that would have to be spent on their upbringing. This is an invisible boost for our modernization drive.

The control of population growth will first have to start with efforts to greatly reduce the birth rate, thus reducing the natural growth rate of the population. The birth rate of our population has already dropped conspicuously during the last 10 years. In 1970 it was 33.59 per 1,000 and by 1980 it had dropped to about 16 per 1,000, i.e., below the world average (28 per 1,000). However, compared with the rate in the developed countries, it is still somewhat high. Examining further the conditions of our present population development, we find the proportion of three or more multiple births is still considerable. In 1978 the total number of births in our country was 17.4 million, of which over 5 million were multiple births, and thus the proportion of multiple births was about 30 percent. In 1979 the number of births was 17.27 million, with still somewhat over 4 million multiple births, their proportion thus being about 23 percent. In 1980 the number of births was about 14.88 million, with about 19 percent multiple births. If it were possible to speedily stop multiple births, there would be 5 million less per year, the birth rate would drop to around 13 per 1,000 and the growth rate of the population could drop to around 7 per 1,000. At present the birth rate in the vast rural areas is still far above that of the urban areas, being estimated at about 19 per 1,000, the average general growth rate is over 12 per 1,000, and the proportion of multiple births is between 35 to 40 percent. To stop multiple births would therefore be a feasible first step to bring down the natural growth rate. However, in view of the large base figure of our population and the preponderance of youth in the age structure, "those below 30 years of age constituting about 65 percent of the total population and an average of 20 million becoming of marriageable and child-bearing age in every coming year, if no further limitations are instituted and we base our calculations on the present rate of 2.2 children per couple, our total population will reach 1.3 billion after 20 years, and after 40 years it will exceed 1.5 billion. This would enormously aggravate the difficulties for the realization of the four modernizations and create impossible conditions for an improvement of the people's living standard" (cf. "Open Letter by the CCP Central Committee to All Members of the CCP and CYL on the Question of Controlling Our Country's Population Growth"). That means that if the average couple of child-bearing age will have only 2 children, i.e., carry out the "2-child system" as from 1980, our population will still increase for 72 years and reach its maximum in the year 2052, when the increase will stop at a total of 1.54 billion people. Obviously this kind of population development would be quite incompatible with our modernization drive. According to the present state of our population and the level of knowledge among the masses, we could gradually reduce the average birth rate from 2.2 to 1.7 by 1985 and maintain this rate until the year 2000; we would then be able to keep the total population figure at 1.2 billion. Controlling population growth would mean a rise in the gross national output value per capita, which would in turn mean an increase in material goods and a higher level of economic development. At the same time that we put a stop to multiple births for a period of 20 years, we will energetically institute a "one child per couple" system. This is the key measure to achieve the aims of our country's population development. Planned control of our population and simultaneously raising the quality of our population is the inexorable trend of our socialist population development. The term population quality refers to the state of every citizen's moral character, intelligence and physical fitness. The quantity and the quality

of a population are two interrelated aspects that condition each other. Population control is the prerequisite and foundation for improving population quality. The reduction of the number of offspring from an average 3.4 to 1.2 per family would create an excellent precondition for improving population quality. Improving population quality would also be helpful in controlling population and maintaining the population within reasonable limits. Improving population quality is also a question of "tackling two aspects at the same time," viz, handling prenatal and postnatal problems. The prenatal aspect is mainly popularizing marriages between close relatives and prohibiting marriages between close relatives and prohibiting persons with hereditary illnesses to have children, it also means setting up appropriate health services and sanitation departments, opening clinics for consultations and outpatient services, etc. According to statistical data, there are about 5 million mentally deficient people in this country (feeble-minded, insane, and congenitally mentally deficient) and several million mentally ill persons, who constitute an additional burden on society and their families. In future we will strive to have whoever is born, to be born to good health and good strength, and we will aim for fewer but eugenically perfect babies, well born and well raised. To take the postnatal tasks well in hand, we must develop our scientific, cultural and educational undertakings, including the development of preschool education, vocational schools, institutions of higher learning, etc. When allotting funds, we must correct the traditional viewpoint that expenditure for the development of scientific, cultural, educational and public health undertakings, which are connected with our intellectual investment, is regarded as consumption funds. In many countries expenditure for educational undertakings is now part of the production funds and regarded as a long-term intellectual investment. It may well be worth our while to take a lesson from this procedure. Qian Xuesen [6929 1331 2773] suggested separating enterprises that create spiritual wealth, such as science, education, culture, public health, publishing, etc., from service enterprises and naming them the quaternary industry, as he believed that separating them in this way will make clearer the position of science, technology, culture and education within the overall modernization drive. This makes good sense. If we rely on uneducated and scientifically untrained people, it will be impossible for us to realize the four modernizations.

Our Modernization Drive Must Help Solve the Population Problem

During the four modernizations we will never be able to lose sight of the special basic condition of our country--its huge population--and the realization of our modernization drive will of necessity entail a basic solution for our population problem at the present stage. What are the special questions which are introduced into the modernization drive by this basic national condition of having a huge population? How is the population problem to be solved in the course of our modernization drive? These are questions that must be answered.

As the modernization drive develops, the various departments of the national economy are extensively employing new technologies, which result in higher forms of production techniques and a saving in living labor in the production process. This is a general rule of technical progress. However, as modernization progresses, there will of necessity be a trend in the departments

engaged in material production to free an increasing amount of labor force. Coupled with the fact that our country has a huge population as well as a backward economy, a series of new problems is bound to arise: Modernization demands that all branches of the national economy carry out technological reforms, employ advanced technology on a broad scale, greatly promote labor productivity and reduce the number of workers; on the other hand, we have a large population and a large number of persons of working age requiring work assignments. Modernization demands large accumulation, but, having a poor foundation to start with, the rate of our accumulation cannot be very high; otherwise, it will adversely affect the improvement of the people's livelihood. Modernization requires a large number of well trained workers of a certain technological level, while on the other hand our economy and education is backward, higher and middle education are not well developed and cannot meet the needs of the modernization drive, etc. Among all these contradictions, there is none more conspicuous than that between having on the one hand a huge population and a surplus labor force, and on the other hand the drive for all-out modernizations, a contradiction that directly affects the possibility of realizing our economic targets before the end of the century. Faced with the problem of how to modernize, we imagined we could take the experiences of Japan and some West European countries after World War II as our models and effect the speedy importation of a large amount of advanced technology, thus bringing about the four modernizations in a short time and thus in a spurt of hard work catching up with the world's advanced level of development. Practical experience has proved that this method overlooks the national characteristics of our country, because the more advanced the imported technology, the larger the investment needed, while our capital resources are limited, and foreign exchange in particular is short. The more advanced the technologies we employ, the fewer the jobs that can be provided by the units that made the investments. For instance, some enterprises that were set up with imported advanced technological equipment require equipment costing several tens of thousands, hundred thousand or even several hundreds of thousands of yuan to absorb one unit of labor force, that is, they require ten times or several tens of times more capital per unit of labor force compared with labor-intensive enterprises. Developing capital-intensive enterprises can raise labor productivity, but it comes into sharp conflict with the demand for full employment. Modernization under the conditions prevailing in our country must, therefore, on the one hand employ as far as possible the world's most advanced technologies, but on the other hand ensure reasonable use of the labor force and full employment, in a word, we must fully and reasonably utilize the abundant resource of labor force in our country. Our four modernizations cannot ignore solving the population problem and finding solutions beneficial to the population problem; they must not aggravate the population problem or impede the solution of the population problem. Therefore:

First, in its industrial modernization our country takes the path of simultaneous development of large, medium-sized small enterprises, of simultaneous development of automation, mechanization and manual work, and of simultaneous support of state ownership and collective ownership. In order to speedily and thoroughly end the backwardness of our country's economy and technology, we must set up a series of large-scale modern enterprises in the key departments related to our national economy and the people's livelihood, and have these enterprises work at the advanced level of the world, in order to provide

the material base for an all-out fundamental technological reform in our national economy and defense production and thus fundamentally increase our country's economic strength and defensive might to ensure our economic independence and invincibility. However, in view of our present economic strength and our population's employment requirement, these enterprises must take only a minor share of our overall industrial setup, and the majority must still be the semiautomated and semimechanized medium-sized and small enterprises, and also a section of the large enterprises, all modernized to a fairly low degree. Compared with the former type of large modernized enterprises, the latter will have rather backward equipment, limited output, poor product quality, higher production costs and lower labor productivity, but they will require less investment--in general only 10,000 yuan or a few times that amount for one unit of labor force. As a consequence, they will avoid the phenomenon seen in various developed countries, in which highly raised industrial productivity was the cause of a huge surplus of labor force. At the same time we will have to pay attention to the development of some labor-intensive industries to meet the need for job assignments. Industrial enterprises under collective ownership that use semimechanized or manual methods of operation will still maintain a very large share of the whole industrial system for a considerable length of time. As there is at present a work force of around 3 million seeking employment in our cities and towns every year, such a large a work force cannot possibly be absorbed by mere reliance on large enterprises and fairly modernized medium-sized and small enterprises. We must, therefore, rely on the masses to make do with whatever is available and energetically set up enterprises owned collectively by cities and towns and operating with not too high technological demands being made on them. The role of developing collective-owned enterprises in our effort to solve the employment problem in cities and towns, and also in the process of modernization, must not be overlooked.

Second, agricultural modernization must start from the realities of our large population, limited arable land and latent surplus (or excess) labor force, and the focal point of our agricultural modernization must, for a certain period of time, not be on a mechanization that reduces employment of agricultural labor force, but must principally be on intensive farming with scientific cultivation, popularizing of superior seed strains and soil improvement, in order to raise the crop yield per unit area. The focus of agricultural mechanization must be directed toward vast and thinly populated areas, large acreages suitable for tractor-plowing, where the state should invest in setting up large modernized agricultural enterprises, gradually employing the most advanced technical equipment, using scientific production and administrative methods, building up bases for the production of commodity grain at high labor productivity and to high commodity standards, and also bases for economic crops, animal husbandry, fishery and forestry. In the other areas of our country mechanized and semimechanized agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery will be instituted step by step, in line with local conditions, as also will be electrification, irrigation and extensive use of chemicals in agriculture. In the process of agricultural mechanization and modernization, top priority must be given to raising the rate of soil utilization and raising the crop yield per unit area, in order to realistically guarantee increased production and larger harvests and the rational employment of the agricultural labor force.

We must fully utilize the existing abundant resources of agricultural labor and in line with local conditions carry out capital construction on farmland, complete and perfect the production responsibility system, devise improved defenses against natural calamities and prepare fields with high, stable yields. At the same time we must also carry out intensive and meticulous farming, so out in a big way for scientific cultivation, and devote much time and energy to seed selection, use of fertilizers, plant protection and the reform of the cropping system. We must particularly study how to apply modern science and technology to agriculture, and by every possible means raise the crop yield per unit area and effectively reduce the agricultural production cost. To bring into full play our advantage of having a large population, we must further develop agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production and fishery in all all-round way and thereby open up new sources of production for our large agricultural labor force, in order to increase the wealth of society and the income of commune members.

In the process of agricultural mechanization and modernization in various developed countries, the rural population greatly decreased and 70 to 80 percent of the population concentrated in the cities. We cannot operate in this way. We want to absorb right inside the rural areas our large surplus of labor force and take the path of a comprehensive development of agriculture industry and commerce. We will vigorously develop in the villages a processing industry for agricultural products and will make agriculture, sideline production, industry and commerce into one coordinated system, where production, processing and marketing will form one entity, a system that will promote the development of production and increase the income of peasants, and that will furthermore bring a part of the production of industrial products of a very low degree of technology into the villages. If village industry processes parts for the large industry of cities and produces products for export trade as well as articles of everyday use required by people, this would provide a basis for building up in the villages in a planned way many small townships all over the country, and also a basis for developing scientific, cultural and educational enterprises and various service trades, all of which will help to absorb the large agricultural labor force and speed up the process of urbanizing villages.

Third, we must devote major efforts to developing social division of labor, adjust the composition of employed people, and open up new trades and industries. On the basis of a developing industrial and agricultural production and raising labor productivity, we must give attention to the development of various social service undertakings, serving the material production and serving the material and cultural livelihood. That means to develop such communal undertakings as trade, tourism, entertainment, communications, telecommunications, etc., as well as the tertiary industry, viz, science, education, public health, banking and insurance. Development of the tertiary industry will bring about great changes in the composition of employed people. In the latter part of the seventies, the tertiary industry of some capitalist countries swiftly and frantically developed. In these countries, the national income of the tertiary industry and the number of people employed by it almost exceeded, or indeed exceeded, the totals of primary and secondary industries. The tertiary industry has been comparatively weak in our country for many

years. According to preliminary statistics, an examination of the composition of our work force from 1978 shows that primary industry took up 82.2 percent, secondary industry 10.1 percent and tertiary industry only 7.9 percent. In the composition of the national income we see that primary industry took up 36.5 percent, secondary industry 50.3 percent and tertiary industry 14.1 percent.

This reflects the backwardness of our country's economic development and of its level of consumption. Many departments of the tertiary industry, especially trades serving livelihood, such as tourism and service-oriented trades in cities, are highly labor-intensive, can accommodate a lot of labor force, and make limited demands on the educational and technological level of their employees. Under the present conditions in our country, the expansion of certain departments of tertiary industry is, therefore, also of benefit in absorbing unskilled labor that is being squeezed out of material production departments. This is an essential function for the social division of labor, for the assignment of work and for the increase in national income.

Fourth, in line with the developmental conditions in our country at the present stage, viz, having a stratified production force, and in line with our ownership system, viz, the socialist public ownership occupying the absolutely dominant position, to advocate a diversified economy, allowing different economic systems to exist side by side and permitting a certain development of the individual economy, while at the same time absorbing to an appropriate extent foreign capital and promoting state-capitalist enterprises operating jointly with foreign capital--all these are also suitable methods to speed up our modernization and to find employment for our labor force.

When taking the Chinese road to modernization, we cannot but give consideration to the basic characteristic of our country, viz, a population of 1 billion people of whom over 800 million are peasants. If we start from this fact, we must not only consider our present-day, but also our long-term interests, not only the advanced nature of our technology, but also what is reasonable economically, not only the demand for higher labor productivity, but also the problem of providing more jobs. At the same time we must also fully meet the objective demands posed by the international division of labor and give full play to the superiority of our country's resource of an abundant labor force. In competition on the international market, let us develop the export of "labor-intensive" products in exchange for the import of "technology-intensive" products. In addition, certain labor services can be organized for export to reduce the domestic employment pressure and alleviate the population problem we are now facing.

Summing up: In the past we had a rapid growth in our population simultaneously with a slow development of our productive forces. In future we must find an outlet for our population and also an outlet for our productive forces. The only way open to us is an unrelenting and effective control of our population growth, so as to achieve a continuous and substantial reduction in the natural growth rate, improve population quality, and achieve a general development of moral character, intelligence and physical fitness in our people. This is the only way to achieve the uplift that will benefit the modernization drive

and the people's livelihood. At the same time we must speed up the process of the four modernizations and raise the level of the people's material and cultural livelihood, as the only way that we can effectively control the growth of our population. Control of population growth is closely related with the effective modernization of the national economy. Only when both promote each other can we take big strides in advancing the socialist cause in our country.

9808

CSO: 4005/850

END